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ABSTRACT

This 4-day curriculum unit explores U.S. foreign policy between 1787 and 1812. During this time the United States faced a series of foreign policy challenges that threatened its survival as an independent, constitutional republic. Between 1793 and 1815, a nearly continuous series of wars pitting the French against the British engulfed the European continent. Other nations joined the conflict when they could not avoid it or deemed it beneficial to do so. The resulting disruption that the United States faced to its ocean-going trade and on its frontiers became the dominant foreign policy issues during the years of the Early Republic. There are four distinct policy directions, or options, at the core of the unit. The options reconstruct the debate that took place in the U.S. Congress about whether to declare war after James Madison's war message of June 1, 1812. Each option is grounded in a clearly defined viewpoint about the U.S. role in the world. By exploring the spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the competing values and assumptions that framed the debate on U.S. policy at the beginning of the 19th century. Ultimately, the intent is to help students clarify their thoughts on the U.S. experience, articulate their own views on U.S. policy, both past and present, and apply the lessons of history to the challenges facing the country today. The accompanying Teacher's Resource Book contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. On the first day the core lesson analyzes the George Washington's and John Adam's administrations lasting impact on foreign policy through an examination of primary source documents. This is followed by an optional lesson that reviews international events and the rise of political parties as shown by political cartoons. On the second and third days, students take part in a simulation set in early June 1812 about the congressional debate that considers whether the United States should declare war on Great Britain. On the fourth day of

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the lesson, students assess the historical consequences of the War of 1812. The guide contains objectives, required reading, handouts, and homework. (BT)

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Public Policy Debate in the Classroom.
[Student Guidebook and] Teacher's Resource Book.

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CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

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Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812 is the eighth unit in a series that applies the Choices approach to critical junctures in history. The Choices Education Project also publishes an ongoing series on current foreign policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

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Prologue: A New Nation

In 1787, the United States' founders realized that the creation of a successful constitutional republic would be intricately connected with foreign policy issues. To ensure the prosperity and safety of the nation's citizens, this new foreign policy would have to deal with issues that the founders understood well.

The Americans would have to balance their relationships with Britain and France—Europe's constantly warring duo. The Americans had found themselves embroiled in the conflict between Britain and France before. During the French and Indian War they had fought with the British against the French. Then during the Revolutionary War, they had enjoyed assistance from France in their struggle for independence from Britain.

As George Washington took office in 1789, he and his administration set out to steer a neutral course among the constantly warring nations and shifting alliances of Europe. Aware of their comparative military weakness, they felt they must keep the nascent republic free of any military entanglements with Britain and France. This was a policy that made good economic sense as well. The founders wanted the economy of the United States to be able to reap the benefits of neutral trade.

Finally, the United States wanted to take advantage of the vast territories and potential wealth on its frontiers. This would not be easy. In 1787, Britain had forts in the Northwest, and Spain held the Louisiana Territory and Florida. In addition, native Americans were hostile to these expansionist designs.

The struggle to create a foreign policy mirrored the struggle to define what the United States would be like domestically. One school of thought—reflected in the vision of Thomas Jefferson—saw the nation as a land of small farmers. Jefferson had an affinity for France and its efforts to end its monarchy, while to him Great Britain was the epitome of tyranny. Not incidently, Jefferson hoped that France would become the prime market for the agricultural goods of the South. A second school of thought—represented in particular by Alexander Hamilton—imagined a United States that would prosper through manufacturing and the help of a strong, central government. Hamilton believed that Britain's trade and capital would contribute to the growth of an industrially based economy in the United States.

The challenges which would threaten the survival of the United States, stemmed from the fact that between 1793 and 1815, the European continent was engulfed in a series of wars pitting the French against the British. The United States, dependent on trade for economic survival, found it could not please one without angering the other. Indeed, these conflicts led to frequent seizures of American ocean-going commerce and trade by both Great Britain and France. Securing the safety for our trade became the dominant foreign policy issue during the early years of the American republic.

Note to Students

The early years of the United States were filled with immense challenges. The United States was militarily weak, yet it aspired to trade with other nations and acquire land. Conflicting visions of the federal government and the role of the Constitution in foreign policy made the task more difficult. From the vantage point of today, it is easy to overlook the difficulties faced in these early years of the Republic.

In this unit, you will follow the path of U.S. decision-makers during the first years of the Republic. You will be asked to view the world from their perspectives. With your classmates, you will analyze the situation and explore the policy choices that were considered. Finally, like an earlier generation of U.S. decision-makers, you too will be asked to recommend what the United States should do in 1812 .

This unit is built around selections from speeches, articles, and political cartoons. These primary sources are the raw material that historians work with when they write history. As you study these documents, ask yourself what are the values and perceptions behind these opinions and what are the implications of the recommendations offered.

Part I: Setting Precedents in a Dangerous World

The Federal Constitution of 1787 clearly concentrated foreign policy powers in the hands of the national government. This new government now possessed the power to control interstate commerce, declare war and raise armies, and maintain a navy. To support this increased power, the new government also now had the right to levy taxes. However, the new Constitution was less clear on the division of responsibilities for foreign policy within the national government. The ambiguity in the language of the Constitution regarding foreign affairs meant that it would be up to the initial presidential administrations and congresses to set the precedents necessary to clarify the role of the government in this critical area.

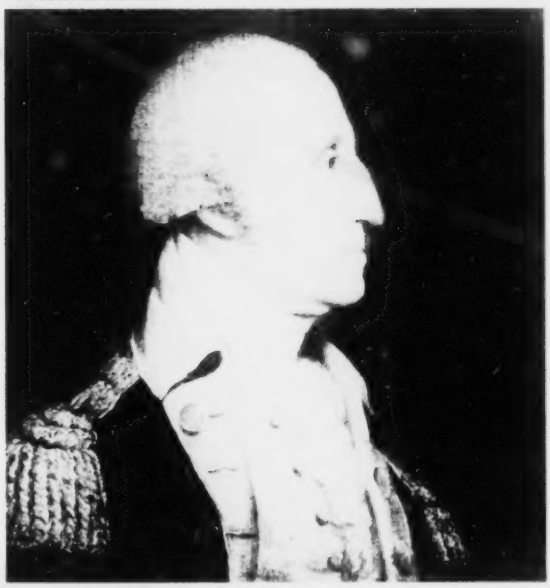
The Washington Administrations (1789-1797)

President-elect George Washington took the oath of office on April 30th, 1789 in Federal Hall in the nation's first capital, New York City. Washington faced numerous challenges—both domestic and foreign.

On the domestic front, one of Washington's first challenges would be to find a way to finance the activities of the federal government. To ensure the financial solvency of the new nation, Secretary of Treasury Alexander Hamilton proposed a series of economic measures including a national bank, an excise tax on whiskey, and the funding of the national debt and assumption of state debts. These measures caused conflict both within and outside the administration. Opponents saw Hamilton's proposals as favoring the country's elites and speculators, and the growth of an outwardly oriented manufacturing economy. Proponents of a more agrarian economy and way of life, including Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Congressman James Madison, publicly contested Hamilton's policies.

In the area of foreign policy, the United States was allied with France by treaty and popular sentiment against Great Britain. However, in terms of markets, imports, and credit, it had a closer economic relationship with Great Britain. Washington knew that differing political viewpoints, conflicting interpretations of the new Constitution, and a lack of precedent would make every task he faced more challenging.

Cleveland Museum of Art



President George Washington, 1790

How did Americans react to news about the French Revolution?

In late 1789, dramatic news arrived from Europe. The French people had risen up against the 200-year-old tyranny of the Bourbon monarchy led by Louis XVI. In its place they established a constituent assembly. Soon after, the constituent assembly issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man, one of the most sweeping statements of universal human rights asserted in recorded history.

While President Washington greeted the news of Revolution in France with cautious optimism, ordinary Americans celebrated it as a triumph of liberty. The United States was a nation seized with "Bastille fever" as French songs, slogans, expressions, and styles swept the nation. Streets were renamed. In Boston, Royal Exchange Alley became Equality Lane. In New York, Kings Ally was renamed Liberty Lane. Americans felt good about their new government and influential in world affairs as their revolutionary ex-

perience seemed to have inspired change in the European continent's most populated country.

However, increasing disagreement within the United States over how to perceive the French Revolution would soon emerge as a contributing factor in the formation of America's first competing political parties. These were the Federalists led by Washington, Adams, and Hamilton and the Democratic-Republicans led by Jefferson and Madison.

As the French Revolution moved from a constitutional monarchy to a bloody republic engaged in a domestic reign of terror, the Federalists increasingly saw it as a threat to American liberty. The Democratic-Republicans and Jefferson believed that the French experiment was important and necessary. Jefferson felt that "...the liberty of the whole earth..." depended on the outcome of the contest and that the cost in lives was worth the prize.

In the spring of 1793, the brewing dispute between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans came to head after the French Republic, flush with the desire to further spread "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" throughout despotic Europe, declared war on Great Britain and Holland. The requirements of the American Alliance with France of 1778 left the United States in an awkward position. Although most of the treaty dealt with arrangements to support the attainment of American independence, it also required the United States to protect "the present possessions of the Crown of France in America." Although in no shape to fight a second major war against Great Britain, the terms of the Alliance could require the United States to do just that.

The French Revolution
Hamilton vs. Jefferson

...was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam & Eve left in every country, & left free, it would be better than as it now is.

—Thomas Jefferson

The cause of France is compared with that of America during its late revolution. Would to heaven that the comparison were just. Would to heaven we could discern in the mirror of French affairs the same humanity, the same decorum, the same gravity, the same order, the same dignity, the same solemnity, which distinguished the cause of the American Revolution. Clouds and darkness would not then rest upon the issue as they do now. I own I do not like the comparison.

—Alexander Hamilton

Why did the arrival of the new French Minister to the United States pose a dilemma for the new Washington administration?

Further complicating the situation, in April the new French Minister to the United States, Edward Genet, arrived in Charleston, South Carolina. Blown

In this cartoon, "The Contrast," American liberty is portrayed as just and bringing prosperity, while French liberty is personified by a sword-bearing, snake-haired woman.

off course during his journey to the United States, he began a four-week journey to Philadelphia (the national capital from 1790-1800), and began to rally support for the French Republic. Hamilton vigorously opposed receiving Genet, believing it would imply recognition of the new government of France (and the treaty obligations that might result from recognition). Jefferson, on the other hand, favored receiving Genet and recognizing the new French government.

Faced with what he considered a critical dilemma, President Washington asked cabinet members including Secretary of State Jefferson and Secretary of Treasury Hamilton to respond to a series of questions. Among them was whether the United States was obligated by the treaties made with France even though the governments and circumstances of both had changed substantially.

How did Hamilton and Jefferson respond to President Washington's questions?

Washington received conflicting counsel from Hamilton and Jefferson on the critical question regarding the status of treaty obligations with France. Hamilton argued that the military alliance of 1778 with France was void because the original alliance was with a French government in which the United States had confidence. He felt the new French government was unstable, likely to provoke wars, and so fundamentally different from the previous one that its interests and those of the United State were no longer compatible. Jefferson argued that although the governments of France and the United States had changed since the alliance was made, the obligation was between peoples of both nations. He argued that while treaties could be voided, circumstances did not yet indicate that this alliance was of inevitable danger to the United States.

Whose position did Washington accept?

Washington chose to accept Hamilton's position in principle, but drew back from declaring the treaties with France null and void. Rather, he announced on April 22, 1793, what has become known as the Neutrality Proclamation. At Jefferson's urging, Washington refrained from using the word "neutrality" in his statement. Acting on what he thought was a realistic assessment of America's limited power and economic interests in a troubled world, Washington declared that the United States would pursue relations with the warring nations of Europe that were both friendly and impartial. He warned U.S. citizens not to carry items to countries that would help these nations conduct their wars or that could be considered contraband.

WASHINGTON QUERIES HIS CABINET

Are the United States obliged by good faith to consider the Treaties heretofore made with France as applying to the present situation of the parties. May they either renounce them, or hold them suspended until the Government of France shall be established?

—George Washington

[T]he Treaties between the U.S. and France, were not treaties between the U.S. & Louis Capet, but between the two nations of America & France, and the nations remaining in existence, tho' both of them have since changed their forms of government, the treaties are not annulled by these changes...

— Thomas Jefferson

If a dissolution of ancient connections shall have been a consequence of a revolution of government, the external political relations of the parties may have become so varied as to occasion an incompatibility of the alliance with the Power which had changed its constitution with the other connections of its ally—connections perhaps essential to its welfare. In such cases, reason, which is the touchstone of all similar maxims, would dictate that the party whose government had remained stationary would have a right, under a bonafide conviction that the change in the situation of the other party would render a future connection detrimental or dangerous, to declare the connection dissolved.

— Alexander Hamilton

What constitutional question did Washington's Neutrality Proclamation provoke?

Washington's decision caused tremendous controversy. Hamilton and Virginia Congressman James Madison, argued over whether the President had usurped a legislative power in declaring neutrality. Hamilton asserted, under the pen-name Pacificus, that the President had a right and a responsibility to act as executor of U.S. law to proclaim neutrality.

Concerned with what he saw as a dangerous erosion of the balance of power, Secretary of State Jefferson, pleaded with Madison to respond to Hamilton's writing.

Using the pen-name Helvidius, Madison argued that the President had overstepped the bounds of the Constitution. He argued that since the Constitution did not permit the President to decide alone that war should be made, he could not therefore decide alone that there should be no war.

On The Neutrality Proclamation Hamilton vs. Madison

The President is the constitutional EXECUTOR of the laws. Our Treaties and the laws of Nations form a part of the law of the land. He who is to execute the laws must first judge for himself of their meaning. In order to the observance of that conduct, which the laws of nations combined with our treaties prescribed to this country, in reference to the present War in Europe, it was necessary for the President to judge for himself whether there was anything in our treaties incompatible with an adherence to neutrality. Having judged that there was not, he had a right, and if in his opinion the interests of the Nation required it, it was his duty, as the Executor of the laws, to proclaim the neutrality of the Nation, to exhort all persons to observe it, and to warn them of the penalties which would attend its non observance.

—Alexander Hamilton, Pacificus I

A people, therefore, who are so happy as to possess the inestimable blessing of a free and defined constitution, cannot be too watchful against the introduction, nor too critical in tracing the consequences, of new principles and new constructions, that may remove the landmarks of power.

—James Madison, Helvidius IV

What precedent was set by the Neutrality Proclamation?

In large part, the debate was as much over the constitutional issues as the contents of the Neutrality Proclamation. Unfortunately, the Constitution provided no clear guidance in this dispute. Both arguments were drawn from inferences about sections of the Constitution relating to other powers. This time, however, the Democratic-Republican position argued by Madison triumphed as the Congress passed and the President signed legislation to enforce the Neutrality Proclamation.

The precedent was set; presidential assertions of foreign policy principle with regard to war were only assertions, unless supported by legislation passed by the legislative branch of government. The President could suggest the course when it came to neutrality, but ultimately the Congress, to which the Constitution had clearly assigned the power to declare war, reserved the right to accept or reject the President's position.

Minister Genet

What two foreign policy precedents did receiving Minister Genet establish?

Washington's cabinet came to agree that Washington should receive Edward Genet. This established two important foreign policy precedents. The first was that the United States would recognize the appointed representative of any foreign government regardless of sentiments for or against that government. Second, the executive branch, through the power granted "to receive ambassadors and other public ministers" in Article II Section 3 of the Constitution of 1787, became the branch that established relationships with foreign governments.

Genet's story does not end, however, without adding more to the annals of American diplomatic his-

tory. Due to his brazen efforts to circumvent American neutrality by commissioning privateers from American ports and raising troops to support the French cause in the Americas, Washington's cabinet soon issued a unanimous request for Genet's recall by the French government (which had changed since he had arrived.) Rather than returning home and facing near certain imprisonment or execution, Genet became the first foreigner to ask for and receive a grant of diplomatic asylum from the United States government. He would marry twice in America, father 15 children, and live into the 1830s.

How did improving relations with France complicate our relations with Great Britain?

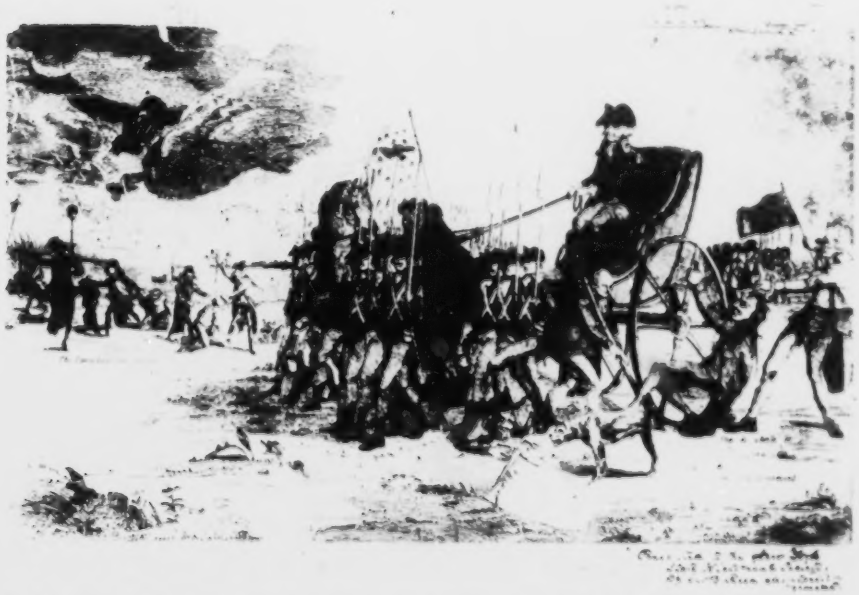
The American relationship with France began to improve with the French decision to open their ports in the West Indies to American shippers. Unfortunately, this added to tensions in our relationship with Great Britain. Britain began to seize American ships engaged in trade in the French West Indies. By 1794, the British Navy had seized over 300 American ships. To complicate matters, the British increased their practice (known as impressment) of stopping American merchant ships and taking individuals they believed were British citizens into the British navy. In addition, Britain would not abandon six forts within the boundaries of the United States as required by the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Of particular concern to settlers on the frontier, evidence showed increased British attempts to incite Native Americans in the American Northwest.

How did the United States attempt to resolve the increasing tensions with Great Britain?

To deal with this increasingly serious crisis, Washington sent John Jay, chief justice of the Supreme Court, to England to negotiate a settlement. He returned with one of the most controversial treaties in American history. The controversy revolved around what the treaty accomplished as well as what it did not. Jay managed to secure British evacuation of the Northwest forts, as promised in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. However, the treaty failed to address the issues of neutral trading rights and the impressment of sailors. Jay did gain limited access to British ports in the West Indies, but for only two years. The British won the right to continue the fur trade with the Indians on the U.S. side of the Canadian border—a point that angered many Westerners.

Democratic-Republicans saw the treaty as a Federalist capitulation to the British. Public outcry was intense. John Jay was burned in effigy many times. The House of Representatives attempted to negate the treaty. Washington resisted their efforts, affirming the precedent that the President and the Senate alone had the constitutional right to make treaties. In the end, after a bitter debate, the Senate removed the provisions that limited U.S. access to the West Indies and passed the treaty by exactly the necessary two-thirds vote.

New York Historical Society



This Federalist cartoon portrays the rise of political parties. Jefferson is shown holding back the wheels of Washington's government.

How did George Washington's farewell address help shape American foreign policy?

At the end of his second term in office, George Washington wanted nothing more than to retire quietly to Mount Vernon. Unfortunately for him, his administration ended not with a whimper but with a bang. The French Minister to the United States, Pierre Adet, believed that a Jefferson victory over John Adams in the upcoming first contested election in the history of the American Republic would be beneficial to France. To this end, he openly supported the candidacy of Thomas Jefferson even to the point of publicly endorsing him in a September 1796 letter. Adet's attempt to influence the American political process and the increasingly partisan nature of American domestic politics concerned Washington. He chose the occasion of his farewell address on September 17, 1796, to issue a stern warning to future American leaders. In his address, Washington argued for avoiding a "passionate attachment" with any other country as well as "permanent alliances," a theme reflected in American foreign policy decisions for generations to come.

The Adams Administration (1797-1801)

John Adams, a Massachusetts Federalist with a distinguished record of governmental service and diplomacy, entered the presidency in 1797 with three handicaps: his predecessor, his vice-president, and himself. Adams had the unenviable task of following George Washington, the only president elected unanimously by the Electoral College. In addition, John Adams' Vice-President was the Democratic-Republican, Thomas Jefferson. Adams was also a difficult individual: assertive in his righteousness and thin-skinned to a fault. His temperament was not suited to the increasingly contested political system of the early American republic.

The major portion of Adam's administration was consumed by deteriorating relations with France. Locked in its continuing struggle with its perennial enemy Great Britain, France began to seize American ships on the high seas after the ratification of the Jay Treaty in 1795. France believed that the Jay Treaty had broken any pretense of U.S. neutrality and asserted in July 1796 that it was compelled to treat the ships of neutrals "in the same manner as they suffer the English to treat them."

How did the United States react to the seizure of its ships?

Adams attempted to reach a negotiated settlement with the French by sending three American negotiators, Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry to France. The French Foreign Minister Charles Talleyrand sent three mysterious emissaries to demand a $250,000 bribe before he would even receive the three American negotiators. The Americans refused to pay for the privilege of negotiating. This became known as the XYZ affair, because the American negotiators referred to the French emissaries as X, Y, and Z in their dispatches. The news provoked outrage at home. The saying of the day became, "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." Hostilities degenerated into a state of war at sea between France and the United States. However, President Adams did not ask Congress to declare war.

This state of war (sometimes referred to as the Quasi War), played out on the high seas around the West Indies and involved very few actual skirmishes between naval vessels of the two nations. Rather, the majority of the action revolved around American seizure of French merchant ships or French seizure of American merchant ships. America received information and support from Britain during this conflict.

How did the Congress respond to the state of war with France?

At home, Congress supported Adams' attempt to protect America's neutral trading rights by passing legislation expanding both the navy and the army. The state of war with France established an important precedent. Through its support of President Adam's actions, Congress confirmed the executive branch's ability to wage war without an official declaration by the legislative branch. In addition, the U.S. Congress suspended the Franco-American Treaties of 1778.

Though under great pressure from his cabinet and the public to declare war, Adams chose instead to send a new minister to France. At almost that same time, Napoleon increased his hold on the French gov-

In this political cartoon, Britain carves up the Americas while Napoleon takes what he wants in Europe.

ernment. As he secured his position, he was ready to come to terms with the Americans. In return for release from our treaty obligations to side with France, the United States gave up all financial claims against France for U.S. shipping seized since 1793.

How did new U.S. laws reflect the growing tensions between political parties?

Meanwhile, at home the party struggle between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans began to heat up. In 1798, the Federalist controlled Congress passed a series of measures aimed at limiting opposition to the war and the President. The Alien Act and the Naturalization Act attempted to reduce the influence of recent immigrants whom Federalists believed were most often pro-Democratic-Republican. The Alien Act gave the President the power to deport any alien he thought endangered the nation's security. The Naturalization Act increased the time it took to become a citizen from five to fourteen years.

Congress also passed the Sedition Act, the only measure which directly affected U.S. citizens. This act prohibited publication or utterance of "false, scandalous and malicious writings" against the government. Democratic-Republicans like James Madison and Thomas Jefferson felt that the Alien and Sedition acts were tyrannical attacks on the constitutionally-protected rights of freedom of speech and the press.

> *Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.*
>
> *—First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution*

Under the Sedition Act, numerous Republicans, but no Federalists, were tried and ten were convicted. One individual was convicted for being overheard wishing that "the wad of a salute cannon might hit President Adams in the rear." Convicted Vermont congressman, Matthew Lyons, was reelected to Congress while serving his jail term.

> *Perhaps it is a universal truth that the loss of liberty at home is to be charged to provisions against danger, real or pretended, from abroad.*
>
> *—James Madison*

The Constitution did not state what should happen if Congress exceeded its powers. Madison and Jefferson believed that each state had the right to judge the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress. Madison wrote a set of resolutions that were adopted by the Virginia legislature in which he argued that a state could declare an act of Congress null and void if they believed it unconstitutional. Jefferson drew up similar resolutions that were adopted by the Kentucky legislature. The Democratic-Republicans used the offensive Alien and Sedition Acts as an issue against the Federalists with great success in the election of 1800.

Part II: The Failure of Peaceable Coercion

The election of 1800 was both hotly contested and constitutionally problematic. Both Jefferson and Aaron Burr received seventy-three electoral votes from their Democratic-Republican supporters. Adams received sixty-five. But Burr didn't accept the fact that the intent was for him to be Vice-President, so the question of who would be elected President needed to be resolved by the House of Representatives. After thirty-five separate votes in the House, Thomas Jefferson was elected by the slimmest margin in history. (Soon after, Congress drafted the Twelfth Amendment which provided that electors cast separate ballots for President and for Vice-President.)

Library Company of Philadelphia

This Federalist cartoon, "The Providential Detection," portrays Jefferson as overly sympathetic to France.

The Jefferson Administration (1801-1809)

Jefferson's outlook on relations between nations and his distrust of strong central government differed strongly from previous administrations. He believed that trade and the "law of nations," not military power, should govern relations between countries. In spite of increasingly sharp differences between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, Jefferson used his inaugural address to offer an olive branch. He hoped to heal the divisions between the two parties by saying that differences of opinion should be tolerated. Nevertheless, as the nation's first Democratic-Republican President, he led the dismantling of the Federalist's domestic program through a reduction of the army and navy, the abolition of the whiskey tax, and the reduction of the national debt.

> *The Federalists are down at last!*
> *The Monarchists completely cast!*
> *The Aristocrats are stripped of power –*
> *Storms o'er the British faction lower.*
> *Soon we Republicans shall see*
> *Columbia's sons from bondage free.*
> *Lord! how the Federalists will stare*
> *At JEFFERSON in ADAMS' chair.*
>
> —*Song in Celebration of Adams' defeat*

What was the major foreign policy achievement of Jefferson's first administration?

With the giants of Europe at peace from 1801 to late 1803, American commerce flourished. However, French interest in North America was increasing. Napoleon had reacquired the Louisiana territory from Spain in 1800 in order to use the region to supply his colonies in the West Indies. The United States reacted with concern. France was powerful—Spain was not. Navigation of the Mississippi and access to the port of New Orleans were critical to American commerce.

The United States sent James Monroe to France to offer to buy New Orleans and part of Florida from Napoleon. Before Monroe arrived, Napoleon lost his taste for empire in the new world. The successful rebellion of black slaves led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti made Napoleon believe that the

Toussaint L'Ouverture

cost wasn't worth the gain. Expecting renewed war with Great Britain, Napoleon offered the Louisiana Territory for $15 million dollars. Without time to wait for instructions from Jefferson, Monroe accepted the offer. It was a major accomplishment.

With this purchase, the United States nearly doubled its size. Jefferson believed that he had expanded the "Empire of Liberty" and secured American use of the Mississippi and New Orleans for American farmers in the Ohio River Valley.

Jefferson's decision was not popular with everyone. The Federalists feared that the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory and its eventual settlement would doom the Federalist Party to a subordinate role as western farmers cast their votes for Democratic-Republican candidates.

Once again the Constitution had not offered guidance on how to proceed with a foreign policy issue; it was silent on how new territory could be added to the United States. The Federalists viewed Jefferson's action as hypocritical. They found it quite ironic that a staunch defender of a strict interpretation of the Constitution now offered a loose interpretation regarding the acquisition of new territory.

How did deteriorating relations between Great Britain and France affect the United States?

During Jefferson's second administration, relations with both Great Britain and France took a turn for the worse. The sea power of Great Britain posed the major obstacle to Napoleon's vision of a vast French empire. In the Berlin Decree in 1806, Napoleon ordered the nations of Europe to stop buying British goods. Great Britain responded by decreeing that all ships carrying trade for the continent had to stop in Britain first where they would be searched for war materials. This decree was known as the Orders in Council. France countered by saying that all ships that stopped in Britain were liable to seizure.

American shippers were caught between a rock and a hard place. If they proceeded directly to France, their ships were liable to seizure by Britain. If they proceeded first to Great Britain they were subject to seizure by the French.

In addition to interference with neutral trading rights, the British continued their policy of impressment. Although no one knows exactly how many American citizens were impressed in the years leading up to the War of 1812, estimates run from 3,800 to over 10,000.

In late 1806, President Jefferson authorized William Pinkney to sail to Great Britain. His mission was to aid James Monroe in his negotiations aimed at resolving the growing tensions caused by British interference with American trade. After several months of negotiation, the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty with Great Britain was signed on December 31, 1806.

Why did Jefferson refuse to submit the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty to the Senate for ratification?

This treaty addressed various points of contention revolving around British restrictions on U.S. trade, but failed to address the issue of impressment. Jefferson used this omission as an excuse to not submit the treaty to the Senate for ratification. Also contributing to his decision were his intense dislike of Britain, his belief that monarchies caused wars, and a desire to avoid any repeat of the outcry over Jay's Treaty—which had been viewed as a capitulation to Great Britain. Tensions continued between the two countries.

How did the continuing impressment of sailors affect relations with Great Britain?

In 1807, the HMS *Leopard* stopped the American naval vessel, the USS *Chesapeake*. When the American captain refused to allow the British to search for de-

The British vessel Leander fires on an American ship prior to impressing some of its sailors.

serters from the British navy, the British captain opened fire, killing three and wounding eighteen. He also removed four sailors. This attack on an American naval vessel led to calls for war. However, Jefferson refused to oblige popular demand. Instead, he ordered British warships out of our waters and instructed our minister in London, James Monroe, to demand an apology and a halt to impressment of American sailors. A furious Federalist labeled President Jefferson, "a dish of skim milk curdling at the head of our nation." Concerned that it would divert Britain's resources from its battle with Napoleon, British Foreign Secretary George Canning was eager to avert a war with the United States. He noted that the admiral responsible for the order that led to the attack on the *Chesapeake* had been dismissed, but he refused to bend on the question of impressment.

Faced with continuing European interference with its neutral trading rights, the United States turned to an economic approach to diplomacy that became known as "peaceable coercion."

The adverse effect of the embargo is shown in this cartoon. Ograbme is embargo spelled backwards.

What was "peaceable coercion" and why did it fail?

Jefferson had a new and radical view of diplomacy. He believed that nations should be linked by trade and that American commerce (instead of war), could be a weapon of diplomacy. Recalling lessons learned during the years leading up to the American Revolution, the United States attempted to exert economic pressure on France and England in an effort to gain respect for neutral trading rights. Hoping to send a strong message, the United States chose to do this with the harshest of measures—an all out embargo which stopped all trade. Passage of the Embargo Act of 1807 confined all U.S. ships to harbor in an effort to deny France and Great Britain agricultural and manufactured products.

> *The decrees of France prohibit us from trading with Great Britain. The orders of Great Britain prohibit us from trading with France. And what do we do? Why, in direct subservience to the edicts of each, we prohibit our citizens from trading with either. I ask in what page of the Constitution you find the power of laying an embargo? It is nowhere directly given. You have it, then, by construction, or by precedent. By construction, it would be based on the power to regulate. I leave aside the commonplace argument that regulation cannot mean annihilation, and that what is annihilated cannot be regulated. I ask this question: Can a power ever be obtained by construction which had never been exercised at the time of the authority given?*
>
> *—Josiah Quincy, Federalist Congressman from Massachusetts, Speech to the House of Representatives, November 1808.*

As it turned out, Jefferson had miscalculated on two counts. First, the economies of Britain and France were not severely harmed by this decision. In fact, the U.S. economy was hurt far more. Thousands were put out of work and there was widespread public dissent. Second, having begun with the strongest form of eco-

nomic warfare, the United States had little recourse except to engage in war or retreat from the embargo.

Due to intense domestic pressure and the failure of the policy, Jefferson signed legislation repealing the Embargo Act shortly before leaving office in 1809. Yet, even in the twilight of his presidency, he made one more effort to find a solution to the trade problem.

How did the Nonintercourse Act affect trade?

Passed by a lame-duck congress only days before the end of Jefferson's administration, the Nonintercourse Act of 1809 forbade all trade with both France and Great Britain as well as their colonies. However, the act also allowed the President to reopen trade with whichever belligerent nation removed its restrictions on U.S. trade first. This act opened American ports to all other traders, (though most of our trade had been with Britain and France), and encouraged smuggling. Any captain simply had to announce that his ship was engaged in coastal trade or trade with countries other than Great Britain and France to gain permission to leave port. Smuggling became the name of the game. This act too soon proved to be ineffective in accomplishing its goal.

Madison's First Administration (1809-1813)

Virginian James Madison already had an outstanding political career before he became President in 1809. The primary author of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, his formidable political intellect had put him at the center of all of the young nation's political debates. A long time friend of Jefferson, as well as his Secretary of State, it was now Madison's turn to take the helm of the ship of state.

In an effort to reopen trade between the United States and Britain, David Erskine, British minister to the United States, opened negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State Robert Smith in April 1809. The resulting Erskine Agreement stated that Britain would drop its requirement that U.S. ships stop to be searched in Britain for war materials in return for an American agreement not to trade with France. Madison was pleased with this agreement. He announced that on June 10, 1809 trade would reopen with Britain, while remaining closed with France. Unfortunately for the United States, Erskine's bargain did not meet with approval from the British Foreign Secretary who quickly repudiated the agreement. Not quickly enough, however, to stop a large number of U.S. ships from embarking to Great Britain where they were seized. Soon thereafter, Madison reinstated a policy of no trade with Great Britain.

What was the purpose of Macon's Bill #2?

In an effort to curb smuggling, in May 1810 Macon's Bill #2 replaced the Nonintercourse Act. This law reversed the conditions imposed by the Nonintercourse Act. Now trade was reopened with both France and Great Britain, but the first belligerent who agreed to cease its interference with American trade would be rewarded by an embargo on the remaining belligerent. This time France moved more quickly when Napoleon's Foreign Secretary Duc de Cadore agreed in a letter to the terms outlined in Macon's Bill #2. This resulted in the reinstatement of non-importation against Great Britain.

While Britain and France attempted to manipulate American trade to their benefit, American domestic politics changed significantly when many young westerners were elected to Congress in 1810. They chose Henry Clay, a young Kentuckian, as Speaker of the House.

Why did Henry Clay steer the United States towards war with Great Britain?

Henry Clay

Clay and his allies were not particularly affected by the impressment of American sailors, nor by trade issues, but they did regard these issues as insults to the American flag. More importantly, they viewed this as an opportune time to acquire land on the frontier. Clay and a group of fellow con-

gressmen were soon labeled "war hawks" because they favored war with Great Britain.

> *Is one of the fairest portions of the globe to remain in a state of nature, the haunt of a few wretched savages, when it seems destined, by the Creator to give support to a large population, and to be the seat of civilization, of science, and of true religion?*
>
> *—Ohio Governor, William Henry Harrison*

These expansionist desires were nothing new. In 1809, Ohio Governor William Henry Harrison had gotten three Indian chiefs drunk and convinced them to sign away three million acres of land. In response, the Shawnee Chief Tecumseh formed a confederacy of tribes to resist westward expansion. After several years of fighting, a full-scale battle took place in 1811 at the Tippecanoe River. Both sides lost many soldiers, but the Indians withdrew. After the battle, some of the weapons abandoned by the native Americans were found to be of Canadian origin. Angry with what they saw as British involvement, the "war hawks" cry of the day was, "On to Canada."

With Britain occupied with Napoleon, Canada seemed like it could be easily conquered. Others regarded the Spanish colony of Florida to be ripe for acquisition. In the early months of 1812, Clay, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and others began to steer the Congress towards a more strident policy toward Great Britain. To help make their case, the War Hawks used anger over British impressment of American sailors, and the negative effect of Macon's Bill #2 on American trade. In addition, they called attention to native American raids on the western frontier that they blamed on Great Britain.

Interestingly, many of the East Coast seafaring states who were most affected by the violations of American neutrality by England and France were opposed to war. Nonetheless, the House recommended preparation for war with Great Britain.

Bills were passed to outfit the army and navy. Taxation was increased to pay for the expanding army and navy. Finally, to clear the ocean of American ships, Congress passed a 90-day embargo after being secretly requested to do so by Madison. When word leaked out, hundreds of ships put to sea to escape the impending embargo's painful economic effects.

June 1812—Weighing American Options

On June 1, 1812, Madison presented a list of grievances against Great Britain to Congress. Cognizant of the delicate separation of powers he played such a crucial role in constructing, President Madison placed the decision in the hands of the Congress. Madison and his cabinet believed that war with Great Britain was necessary, yet Madison was aware of how divided the country was on the subject. He also knew that the future of the Democratic-Republican party depended on its ability to make a broad national appeal.

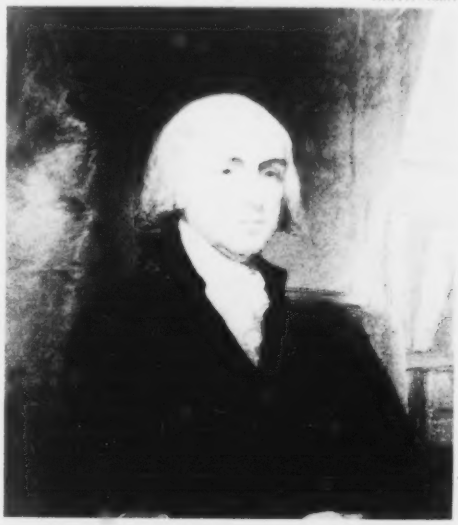
The debate in Congress would be of critical importance to the nation's future. Congress faced fundamental issues involving war and peace, as well as the U.S. relationship with Europe in general, and Great Britain in particular. While a range of opinions existed, four principal options had emerged by June 1812.

In the coming days, you will have the opportunity to consider the range of alternatives debated in Congress. Each of the four options that you will explore is based on a particular set of beliefs and values. Identifying these values will help you better understand American history and the forces that shaped the United States.

War Message to Congress, June 1, 1812
James Madison, President of the United States

"Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great common and highway of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize courts no longer the organs of public law but the instruments of arbitrary edicts, and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled in British ports into British fleets... We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain....

Gilbert Stuart



President James Madison.

Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpation's and accumulated wrongs, or, opposing force to force in the defense of their national rights...is a solemn question which the Constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the Government."

Options in Brief

Option 1 — Defend Rights and Honor through Unlimited War

In 1776, the American colonies resorted to force when accommodation with Great Britain no longer seemed possible. This point has been reached again. After nearly two decades of continuous interference with American trade on the high seas, it is time that America stops fooling itself. We must use the only language Great Britain understands: force. Already our sailors and our families on the western frontier have been subjected to British force either through its navy or its Indian agents. If we wish to preserve national honor and avoid falling back into a state of colonial subjugation, we must act now. The time for talk is over. The time for action is upon us. Let us declare war and establish independence yet again from the contemptuous and haughty British.

Option 2 — Defend Rights and Honor through Limited Maritime War

British provocations necessitate action. Their attacks on American shipping on the high seas and continued impressment of American sailors require a response. Negotiations have failed and non-importation has not caused Britain to stop interfering with the rights of neutrals. This response should, however, be limited to the oceans. Why risk the devastation of American soil with a land war when the battle revolves around freedom of the seas? A limited war aimed at undermining Britain's ability to trade freely will accomplish our goals without risking our cities and farms. As we learned during the period of the quasi-war with France, much can be gained at sea with little cost at home. Furthermore, a limited naval war does not involve creating a large army which could be a threat to our constitutional republic. Respond, yes! But it should be a limited response aimed at the source of these injustices.

Option 3 — Delay Armed Conflict Until Prepared

British injustices are severe. Our sailors are impressed at an alarming rate. Our neutral trade is suffering. Our western frontier is under attack by the Indians acting as agents of the British. Now, however, is not the time for action. Neither our navy nor our army is prepared to resist one of the world's greatest powers. After years of neglect under the Jefferson and Madison administrations, how can our armed forces resist the victors at Trafalgar and the battle-tested soldiers of the Duke of Wellington? At this time, discretion is the better part of valor. Without appropriate preparations, all we have gained over the past twenty-nine years could be lost. Economic sanctions allow us to respond to British interference while we prepare for the war that is coming.

Option 4 - Rights and Honor are Not Worth Bloodshed

Why war? What do we stand to gain from the resort to force? Granted, Great Britain has interfered with American trade and subjected American sailors to impressment. But should an entire nation be put at risk to protect the profits and livelihoods of a few? War with one of the world's great powers risks devastation and destruction on an unprecedented scale. Have we already forgotten the misery that accompanied the American Revolution? Today Britain is only stronger and better prepared after nearly twenty years of warfare with France. In addition, like it or not, a declaration of war against Britain makes us the allies of one of the world's most bloodthirsty and autocratic rulers—Napoleon. Is this what we fought for in 1776? The right to support tyranny against liberty? Finally, what about the threat to the republican system at home? War with Britain will mean creating an army that will require new taxes. Is it worth risking our republic and our property in the name of rights and honor?

Option 1

Defend Rights and Honor Through Unlimited War

The United States can no longer put up with the outrages perpetrated against it by Great Britain. Marauding Indians on the frontier, the ruthless impressment of our sailors, the seizure of our ships: Britain has pushed us too far. We must act now.

In 1776, we Americans decided we could no longer tolerate British oppression and declared independence. The ensuing conflict resulted in the recognition of America's independence in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Since that time, however, Great Britain has continually attempted to keep its newly independent colonies in a dependent position. In the 1780s and early 1790s, the British limited our access to British ports, impressed American sailors, and maintained a presence in six forts located in the Northwest Territories that they had previously ceded to the United States. While relations improved a little with the signing of the Jay Treaty and the cooperation that occurred between Britain and the United States during the state of war with France, things have only become worse since then.

The resumption of hostilities between Britain and France in 1803 has resulted in increasing tensions. The British view control of the seas as essential to their survival. In their view, there is no right to neutral shipping. Any ship heading to France is considered fair game for seizure and sale. The victors of Trafalgar think that the ocean belongs to them. It does not. They dare anyone to challenge their claims upon nature's natural highway. This interference must stop. Our nation's commerce depends on the right of neutral shipping.

Britain's insatiable need for sailors in their navy has also led them increasingly to impress Americans on the high seas. Although claiming only to be interested in capturing and returning British sailors who have fled the harsh conditions of its navy, native-born as well as naturalized Americans have also frequently been impressed. The practice of impressment has not only resulted in a violation of American rights, it has resulted in violence against Americans. The outrageous attack of the HMS *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake* in 1807 left 21 American sailors dead or wounded. We will not tolerate these insults to our nation's honor any longer.

On the western frontier, Great Britain incites the Indians to massacres of unspeakable brutality. With promises of an independent nation between the United States and Canada and an ample supply of weapons, the British have unleashed terror on the frontier through their Indian allies. Have they no shame? Where is the honor in having others massacre innocent settlers? It is time for us to claim this land as our own and to strike back against the source of British aggression on this continent—Canada.

It is time that we stop trying to speak a language of accommodation and compromise that Britain does not understand. In the 1770s, the Olive Branch Petition fell on deaf ears. In the first decade of the 19th century attempts at "peaceable coercion" are met with disdain. Force is the language of the British. To maintain its independence and preserve its honor, America must abandon negotiation and fight fire with fire.

Our forefathers triumphed less than three decades ago against the British. Their sons will rise to the occasion again. Let us make sure they did not spill their blood in vain and sacrifice lives for a short-lived experiment in constitutional government. The time for talk has passed. America's rights, honor, and credibility must be preserved. Without them, independence is just a meaningless word.

FROM THE RECORD

Felix Grundy, Congressman from Tennessee:
"What, Mr. Speaker are we now called on to decide? It is whether we will resist by force the attempt made by that government to subject our maritime rights to the arbitrary and capricious rule of her will; for my part I am not prepared to say that this country shall submit to have her commerce interdicted or regulated by any foreign nation. Sir, I prefer war to submission. Over and above these unjust pretensions of the British government, for many years past they have been in the practice of impressing our seamen from merchant vessels; this unjust and lawless invasion of personal liberty calls loudly for the interposition of this government. This war, if carried on successfully, will have its advantages. We shall drive the British from our continent—they will no longer have an opportunity of intriguing with our Indian neighbors, and setting on the ruthless savage to tomahawk our women and children."

Richard M. Johnson, Congressman from Kentucky:
"...we must now oppose the farther encroachments of Great Britain by war, or formally annul the Declaration of our Independence, and acknowledge ourselves her devoted colonies... Before we relinquish the conflict, I wish to see Great Britain renounce the piratical system of paper blockade; to liberate our captured seamen on board her ships of war; relinquish the practice of impressment on board our merchant vessels; to repeal her Orders in Council; and cease, in every other respect, to violate our neutral rights; to treat us as an independent people."

Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives:
"What are we to gain by war, has been emphatically asked? In reply, he would ask, what are we not to lose by peace? - commerce, character, a nation's best treasure, honor! If pecuniary considerations alone are to govern, there is sufficient motive for the war. Our revenue is reduced, by the operation of the belligerent edicts, to about six million of dollars, according to the Secretary of the Treasury's report. The year preceding the embargo it was sixteen...."

John C. Calhoun, Congressman from North Carolina:
"I believe that in four weeks from the time a declaration of war is heard on our frontier, the whole of Upper Canada and a part of Lower Canada will be in our power."

John Rhea, Congressman from Tennessee:
"Not long after the Treaty of Peace, England began her course of inimical depredations, and increasing them in number and in magnitude, in proportion from the time of their beginning, has steadily persevered in the execution of them to the present day; and all that time the United States have persevered in their endeavors, by negotiation, to obtain an amicable settlement of differences. Yes, they have persevered, in a manner bordering too near to humiliation, to avoid war and to live at peace; but every friendly proposition has been rejected, and it seems as if nothing but the reduction of this nation to a servile state of colonial existence, can satiate the appetite of voracious England. If, then, war shall be, let England look to it—human blood, in the event, will be poured out, and will flow to increase that ocean of blood that loudly calls for retribution. In relation to the issue of a war, the United States have nothing to fear; for on this side is arrayed eternal justice, unfurling her flaming standard and conducting to victory."

Andrew Jackson, Volunteers to Arms:
"For what are we going to fight? To satisfy the revenge or ambition of a corrupt and infatuated ministry? To place another and another diadem on the head of an apostate republican general? To settle the balance of power among an assassin tribe of kings and emperors? Or to preserve to the prince of Blood, and the grand dignitaries of the empire their overgrown wealth and privileges? No. Such splendid achievements as these can form no part of the objects of an America war. But we are going to fight for the reestablishment of our national character, misunderstood and vilified at home and abroad; for the protection of our maritime citizens, impressed on board British ships of war and compelled to fight the battles of our enemies against ourselves; to vindicate our right to free trade, and open a market for the productions of our soil, now perishing on our hands because the mistress of the ocean has forbid us to carry them to any foreign nation; in fine, to seek some indemnity for past injuries, some security against future aggressions, by the conquest of all the British dominions upon the continent of north

America. Here then is the true and noble principle on which the energies of the nation should be brought into action: a free people compelled to reclaim by power of their arms the right which God has bestowed upon them, and which an infatuated King has said they shall not enjoy."

John C. Calhoun's report to the House of Representatives from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"But the period has now arrived, when the United States must support their character and station among the nations of the earth, or submit to the most shameful degradation. Forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. War on the one side, and peace on the other, is a situation as ruinous as it is disgraceful. The mad ambition, the lust of power, and commercial avarice of Great Britain, arrogating to herself the complete dominion of the ocean, and exercising over it an unbounded and lawless tyranny, have left to neutral nations an alternative only between the base surrender of their rights, and a manly vindication of them. Happily for the United States, their destiny, under the aid of Heaven, is in their own hands. The crisis is formidable only by their love of peace... Your committee, believing that the free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, and seeing in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which must lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force; in which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and to the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, your committee recommends an immediate appeal to arms."

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 1

1. The honor and pride of the United States are at stake. The United States can not suffer under the monarchical tyranny of Great Britain ever again.

2. The United States should have the right to trade with any nation as it sees fit.

3. Force is the only message that Great Britain will understand.

4. The land on the frontiers and in possession of the Indians as well as the British colonial possession of Canada ultimately should belong to the United States.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 1

1. Great Britain has ignored our good-faith efforts to negotiate solutions. They have refused to honor their treaty obligations to abandon their forts in the Northwest and they have incited Indians on the frontier. Their impressment of seamen and limitations on our trade shows that they are treating us like we are still their colonies. Force was what forced them to accede to our demands during the War of Independence. Force is what will stop them now.

2. Expansion to the west will bring valuable land to our farmers, offer more opportunities for trade, and quell the troublesome Indians. Declaring war will allow us to take these lands.

3. Britain's Orders in Council have stifled our economic growth. We have not been able to trade with France or with other European nations as is our right. We must insist on our rights as an independent nation.

Option 2

Defend Rights and Honor Through Limited Maritime War

British provocations necessitate action. Let us protect our ocean-going trade and our sailors. We must stop Britain's violations of our rights on the high seas. Turn loose our skillful sailors and new navy and strike a blow for what is right.

Britain's interference with American shipping, its impressment of American sailors, and its incitement of the Indians on America's western frontier require a serious response. The time for talk is over. America's consistent attempts to use diplomatic channels and economic coercion to rectify the situation have fallen on deaf ears. Britain does not give us the respect that we deserve. As we learned during the American Revolution, Great Britain understands only force. It is time to send a clear message.

The use of force, however, should be limited to the American navy and authorized privateers. Do we seriously believe that we can beat the mighty armies Britain has mustered to contain Napoleon? Do we dare risk the hardship of foreign soldiers on our soils? The majority of our grievances revolve around British naval actions. Since the British are most vulnerable on the high seas, the American response should focus on this theater.

As we learned during the state of war with France, America can wring the necessary concessions from a European power without a prolonged and costly ground war. The use of American naval vessels as well as privateers authorized by letters of marque will enable America to strike at the lifelines of the British war effort. As an island nation engaged in a life and death struggle with a continental power, the British are extremely vulnerable to interference with their shipping. Their soldiers abroad rely on receiving supplies carried by ships. Their civilians at home depend on the free flow of commerce upon the high seas. Interfering with its trade will be the quickest way to get our antagonist's attention.

In addition, a naval conflict allows America to avoid the devastation that is associated with a ground war. Why should we risk our cities? Our citizens can be spared the trauma of war while sailors exchange salvos on the high seas. Civilians will also be spared the costs of sustaining the large army necessary for ground war operations against the British. With the removal of the whiskey tax early on in Jefferson's first administration, all direct taxes imposed by the federal government were abolished. Let us not compound the problems caused by the British by reinstating taxes that strike at the heart of every American's right to spend his income as he sees fit.

The mighty British army has too much experience for us to defeat it on land. Let us steer clear of the expansionist dreams of Mr. Clay and his compatriots. We must be wise in how we choose to defend ourselves.

The time to act is now. The place to act is on the high seas. Interference with America's neutral trading rights and impressment of our sailors must be stopped by an aggressive campaign at sea. A limited maritime war is our best option. Rights and honor are defended without the costs and bloodshed associated with an unlimited war.

FROM THE RECORD

Chauncey Goodrich, Senator from Connecticut:
"Our course is to use our endeavours to free our commerce from the fangs of the Law, to fortify our most prominent harbors, to equip and man our navy—to provide a means of defence—and there to pause."

John Jacob Astor, New York Merchant:
"...we are full of speculation and conjecture as to the measures to be next adopted by government. Some say war with England and other with France and England while some believe that all restriction on commerce will be taking off [sic] and that our merchant vessels be permitted to arm. This I believe will meet the more general approbation."

Samuel Mitchill, Congressman from New York:
"An embargo ought to be accompanied with another - with letters of marque and reprisal. We ought to let the cannon accompany the flag. The voice of the cannon ought to speak the voice of the nation, under the stripes of the nation."

James Monroe, Secretary of State:
"I am convinced that it is very important to attempt, at present, the maritime war only."

James A. Bayard, Senator from Delaware in a letter to his son:
"The Western and Southern Gentlemen are alarmed by a point very seriously insisted upon by the northern—that in case Canada be conquered, that it shall be divided into States and inalienably incorporated into the Union. You will see the great and permanent weight which such an event would throw into the northern scale. No proposition could have been more frightful to the southern men, and it seems they had never thought of what they were to do with Canada before, in case they conquered the country, but they prefer that Canada should remain a British Province rather than becomes States of America. The consequence has been that they now begin to talk of maritime war, and of the ocean being the only place where G. Britain is tangible. What I am now telling you is not an affair generally or publicly spoken of. It has existed but a short time and passes as yet in whispers and a semi-confidential way. I am inclined to think it true and likely to produce important results."

Pennsylvania Senator Andrew Gregg Resolution to House Declaration of War:
"Resolved, That the bill, entitled 'An act declaring war between Great Britain and her dependencies, and the United States and their Territories,' be recommitted to the committee to whom was committed the Message of the President, of the 1st instant, with instructions to modify and amend the same, in such manner that the President of the United States shall have power to authorize the public armed ships and vessels of the United States to make reprisals upon the public and private ships and vessels, goods, and merchandise, belonging to the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or to the subjects thereof; and also to grant letters of marque and reprisal, under suitable regulations, to be provided in the bill, to private armed ships and vessels to make like reprisals."

U.S. Navy Commodore Stephen Decatur:
"The plan which appears to me to be the best calculated for our little navy...would be to send them out with as large a supply of provisions as they can carry, distant from our coast and singly, or not more than two frigates in company, without giving them any specific instructions as to place of cruising, but to rely on the enterprise of the officers."

Virginia Senator William Branch Giles, Resolution to the House Declaration of War:
"Resolved, That the bill, entitled 'An act declaring war between Great Britain and her dependencies, and the United States and their territories,' be recommitted to the committee to whom was committed the message of the President of the United States of the 1st instant, with instructions to modify and amend the bill, in such manner as to authorize the President of the United States to instruct the commanders of all ships of war belonging to the United States to recapture any vessel thereof bound to any port or place prohibited to such vessel by the British orders in council, dated the— day —which may have been previously captured by any British armed vessel; and, also, to capture any British armed vessel which shall resist such recapture, or be found hovering on the coasts of the United States for the purpose of interrupting their lawful commerce, and to bring the same into any port of the United States for adjudication

and condemnation.

And, further, to instruct the commanders of all ships of war belonging to the United States, to recapture any vessel of the United States navigating the ocean conformably to the laws of nations, which may have been previously captured by any French armed vessel; and also to capture any such French armed capturing vessel, and, in like manner, to bring in the same for adjudication and condemnation.

And to authorize the President of the United States to cause letters of marque and general reprisal upon the public and private ships and vessels, goods, and merchandise, belonging to the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or to the subjects thereof: and, also, upon the public and private ships and vessels, goods, and merchandise, belonging to the crown of France, or to the subjects thereof."

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 2

1. The United States should have the right to trade with any nation as it sees fit.

2. Neutral nations should not be made to suffer because the major powers have engaged in the folly of war.

3. Great Britain did not respond to our requests during the colonial period until we defeated them on the battlefield. They will not concede anything except by force. However, the battlefield today is the high seas.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 2

1. A declaration of unlimited war is too risky for the United States. The army of the United States is small and inexperienced. Britain has been battling the mighty armies of Napoleon. We would be foolhardy to think we could defeat the experienced army of Britain.

2. Our sailors are skilled and our merchant ships numerous. We should play to our strengths. We should arm our merchant ships and provide them with letters of marque so that they can strike out at British interests. The use of force against British ships will be the quickest and in the long run most successful way to get them to respect our rights.

3. There is no advantage to be gained from adding Canadian territory to our country. This will only tip the delicate political balance in favor of the northern states.

Option 3

Delay an Armed Conflict until Prepared

British injustices are severe. We must prepare for war. But we are not yet ready to strike against such a powerful nation's army and navy. We need time to prepare.

Unquestionably Great Britain has gone too far. It must revise its current practices. Its consistent interference with American shipping, impressment of American sailors, and incitement of the Native Americans on American borders is cause for great concern. America must respond if its rights and honor are to be preserved.

However, now is not the time for us to respond with armed aggression. Neither our navy nor our army is prepared to resist one of the world's greatest powers. After years of neglect under the Jefferson and Madison administrations, how can our armed forces resist the victors at Trafalgar and the battle-tested soldiers of the Duke of Wellington? At this time, discretion is the better part of valor. America must proceed prudently or risk losing all it has worked so hard to gain over the past several decades.

If the United States delays a declaration of war until the fall, we can gain almost six months and perhaps even more time to prepare for war against the British. And prepare we must! Currently, our armed forces, weakened through years of inactivity and budget cuts, are in no condition for a war. Our navy lacks the necessary vessels to battle Britain's larger ships and our army is small and unprepared. What warrior begins a conflict without the ability to inflict pain and harm on the enemy? Great Britain has only become stronger as a result of the continuous warfare with France. To expose this nation to devastating attacks by the British without the power to retaliate in kind or even the ability to defend ourselves seems to place honor and rights before common sense.

How shall we buy the time we need? On April 1, 1812, Congress instated a ninety-day embargo against Great Britain. This embargo hits Great Britain where it hurts with none of the negative risks associated with waging a war for which we are unprepared. We can extend this embargo until November and let it have its effect before launching an armed crusade against Great Britain. By November the bad weather in the Atlantic will work to our advantage, serving as a shield against British naval incursions. This will give us additional time for preparation. We can use this time to strengthen and further prepare our forces and seaports. Stalling in this way is not a sign of weakness or indecision. Rather, it demonstrates an intelligent use of all our advantages as we prepare for battle against a powerful enemy.

Although justified in our anger, now is not the time to engage the British in a military conflict. By delaying a declaration of war, we can allow economic warfare to have its effect, put off a conflict until the natural blockade of poor weather can provide us with a military advantage, and gain valuable time to prepare for a military conflict.

Thomas Sammons, Congressman from New York:
"[We] would not wish to engage in a war unless we were attacked on our own territories or brought on by our enemies, before we are prepared with an army and would for the present remove all restrictive measures for emports and exports."

Philadelphia resident Manuel Eyre to Congressman Roberts:
"Would it not be best to procrastinate the time of making war until we are better prepared to strike the first blow with effect—late in the fall and winter British Ships of war cannot encounter the tempestuous weather on our coasts without almost inevitable destruction—by that time the enlistments of our new army will have greatly progressed & and our sea ports better fortified?"

Obadiah German, Senator from New York:
"...if we were even in a state of preparation, and possessed the means of insuring a favorable issue, it would be bad policy for this country, at the present time, to enter into war with Great Britain, although perhaps many weighty reasons might be adduced in support of such argument. I will first call the attention of the Senate to the ability and strength of the nation we are about, by this bill, to declare war against. Gentlemen ought to recollect, that Great Britain has almost constantly engaged in war for twenty years past against one of the most powerful nations that ever existed; and for a considerable part of that time, the energies of her enemy have been directed by war's favorite genius —NAPOLEON, who has succeeded in uniting nearly the whole force of the Continent of Europe against her; against that very nation which we are about to assail; and what has been the effect? Is Great Britain less powerful now, than she was twenty years ago? No, sir, this constant warfare has increased her powers instead of diminishing them. Great Britain is a wily, active nation. She has been trained to war. She will not measure her steps and movements by ours; if we are not prepared to defend our seaports, she will not wait until we are; and should she get possession of New Orleans, it will cost much blood and treasure to dislodge her. I do not, Mr. President, draw all these discouraging pictures, or relate these lamentable facts, because I would shrink from the conflict or terrors of war, for the defence of the rights of my injured country, sooner than any gentleman of this Senate, nor with a wish that all these evils may be realized; my object is to avert them from my country. I do it, sir, to check the precipitate step of plunging my country prematurely into a war, without any of the means of making the war terrible to our enemy; and with the certainty that it will be terrible to ourselves, or at least to our merchants, our seaports, and cities. Yes, sir; the millions that your merchants will lose in consequence of this rash, this premature step, will strike them with terror and dismay from New Orleans to Maine. A country well prepared to meet war will scarcely find war necessary, but if it cannot be avoided, preparation does away half its terrors. And if gentlemen will show me an army of twenty-five thousand men, well formed, disciplined, and supplied, at the place of the grand rendezvous near Albany, give us a reasonable increase of our navy, and will place both the great belligerents on equal footing, (as I consider them equal trespassers on our rights,) then, I say, if Great Britain will not do us justice, I will vote at the proper time a declaration of war against her; and I will use my utmost exertions to make the war terrible to her, but to declare war without the means of making the enemy feel its horrors, and at a time when it must produce evil and terrors only to ourselves, strikes me with astonishment."

James A. Bayard, Senator from Delaware:
"It is not enough that we have cause for war; we must see that we are prepared, and in a condition to make war. You do not go to war for the benefit of your enemy, but your own advantage; not to give proofs of a vain and heedless courage, but to assert your rights and redress your wrongs. If you commence hostilities before you are prepared to strike a blow, and while your cities, your territory, and your property on the ocean, are exposed to the mercy of a Government possessing vast resources of war, what can you expect but to add new distresses, defeat, and disgrace to the wrongs of which you complain? It is a strange motive for war—a wish to gratify the rapacity, to swell the triumphs, and to increase the insolence of the enemy. No time has existed for years past when we had less cause to complain of the conduct of Great Britain. Her vessels of war had all been withdrawn

from our coast, as he presumed, in order to avoid collisions and hostility. If the war be suspended till November, the government and the people will both be better prepared to sustain it. Postpone the war, and we will submit to the embargo till November. This will furnish time for the return of your ships and seamen. Are you provided with means to annoy the enemy, or to defend yourselves? Have you an army or navy which can make any impression? Are your exposed towns fortified and garrisoned? Was any nation ever less prepared for war? It would require the whole military force that you now possess to constitute an adequate defence for New Orleans, New York, and Newport. During the winter months you will be defended by the elements. Postpone the war till November, and we shall not have to dread an enemy on our coast till April. In the mean time, go on with your recruiting, fill up, discipline, and train an army. Take the stations, if you please, which will enable you to open an early campaign. Your trade will all have time to return before hostilities commence, and having all your ships and seamen at home, you may be prepared to put forth all your strength upon the ocean on the opening of the ensuing Spring. Shall we, by an untimely precipitancy, yielding to a fretful impatience of delay, throw our wealth into the hands of the enemy, and feed that very rapacity which it is our object to subdue or to punish? We can lose nothing by delay; much will be certainly saved; and at a moment pregnant with great events, it was most evidently our true policy to temporize. You give up no right, yield no pretension, and profit by every day in rendering the condition of the country more secure, and its attitude more formidable. The just appreciation of time is among the highest points of political sagacity."

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 3

1. The United States may not be prepared for war now, but we must get prepared or risk losing our rights as a free and independent nation.

2. Engaging in unlimited war with Great Britain at this time threatens the safety of our coastal towns and cities. There is no cowardice in waiting until we are prepared.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 3

1. The U.S. army and navy are much smaller and weaker than Great Britain's. The United States has few experienced troops and naval commanders, while Britain has been at war with France for a generation. Engaging in unlimited war with Great Britain at this time threatens the safety of our coastal towns and cities and puts our merchant ships in increased danger. Delay will allow time to fortify coastal towns and cities and time for U.S. merchant ships to find the safety of their ports.

2. We have successfully contained Indian aggression on the frontier at the Battle of Tippecanoe. Most of our troops are currently engaged on the frontier and we would be foolish to relocate them now to protect our coastline. If we are going to take on battle with the British, we will need time to prepare more troops.

3. By relying on the embargo as our first defense and delaying a declaration of war until November, we will be able buy time, prepare for war, and benefit from the seasonal advantage provided by the bad weather that begins in the Atlantic at that time. This weather will prevent Britain from bringing its forces to our shores until next spring. And this, in turn, will give us additional time to prepare our forces.

Option 4

Rights and Honor are Not Worth Bloodshed

The United States and its citizens are being asked to risk too much for the sake of principles and honor. Engaging in a military conflict with Great Britain not only threatens to undermine our cherished constitutional government, it threatens America's existence as an independent country.

The injustices heaped upon us by the British are many. We do not and cannot ignore the unwarranted British interference with American shipping on the high seas. Nor do we turn a blind eye to the unacceptable practice of impressment. These intolerable behaviors must stop. But a war with Great Britain that would align us with the tyrant Napoleon is not the answer.

For almost two decades while Great Britain and France have engaged in an epic battle, our sailors and merchants have paid a heavy price. The loss of both men and goods to the warring parties has caused both personal sorrow and financial loss. Is a response that will extend this sorrow and loss far beyond the confines of those associated with transatlantic shipping a justified response? Should American civilians risk death and destruction for the rights and honor of a few? Even worse, the British have continually demonstrated their interest in returning America to a state of colonial dependence. Why should we give the British the justification and occasion for doing so?

What about the cost? Americans look unfavorably upon the tax man. Our War of Independence was precipitated in many ways by unjustified attempts at taxation. Since independence, domestic turmoil (like the Whiskey Rebellion), has been caused by unwanted taxes. A war with Great Britain will cost Americans dearly. All taxes until this point will seem modest and in fact insignificant in comparison with the taxation that will be necessary to wage war against the world's strongest military power. In addition, by resorting to war, we risk losing the millions of American dollars deposited in British banks and losing our cargoes currently on the high seas.

Finally, whether we like it or not, war against the British allies us with Napoleon. Did our forefathers sacrifice their blood in the American Revolution so that we would have the freedom to ally ourselves with one of history's most bloodthirsty dictators? Hasn't France seized more of our ships over the past five years than Great Britain has? Have we worked so hard to establish a constitutional republic at home so that we would have the freedom to support tyranny abroad? No. Freedom at home is inextricably connected to freedom abroad. The United States should not support, directly or indirectly, the work of emperors.

The risk to our nation is too great and the rewards are too few to justify war against Great Britain. Injustices have occurred, but greater injustices will occur if we choose war. Is it worth risking the demise of the world's largest constitutional republic for the rights of a few or the sake of principle? Let the costs be weighed and reason prevail.

FROM THE RECORD

Josiah Quincy, Congressman from Massachusetts:
"If our ills were of a nature that war would remedy, if war would compensate any of our losses or remove any of our complaints, there might be some alleviation of the suffering in the charm of the prospect. But how will war upon the land protect commerce upon the ocean? What balm has Canada for wounded honor? How are our mariners benefited by a war which exposes those who are free, without promising release to those who are impressed? But it is said that war is demanded by honor. Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased only by blood?... If honor demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done us by France?

John Randolph, Congressman from Virginia:
"An insinuation had fallen from the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy) that the late massacre of our brethren on the Wabash had been instigated by the British government. Has the President given any such information? Has the gentleman received any such, even informally, from any officer of this government? Is it so believed by the administration? ... This insinuation was of the grossest kind—presumption the most rash, the most unjustifiable...But is war the true remedy? Who will profit by it? Speculators; a few lucky merchants who draw prizes in the lottery; commissaries and contractors. Who must suffer by it? The people. It is their blood, their taxes, that must flow to support it."

Excerpts from a Resolution of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts:
"A war with Great Britain would furnish temptations to her Government to sequester the millions belonging to our citizens deposited in that country, and an opportunity to her navy and cruisers to sweep the ocean of the remains of our once flourishing commerce. The conquest of Canada, the only point in which she is assailable, would afford no indemnification, if achieved, for the losses to which we should be exposed upon our unprotected seaboard, and upon the ocean. Destitute as we are of a navy, and the means of immediate maritime defence, we cannot perceive in what mode a war with this nation, so powerful on the ocean, can promise the attainment of its avowed object—the revocation of the Orders in Council."

William Coleman, Federalist Editor of the New York Evening Post:
"Citizens, if pecuniary redress is your object in going to war with England, the measure is perfect madness. You will lose millions when you will gain a cent. The expense will be enormous. It will, ruin our country. Direct taxes must be resorted to. The people will have nothing to pay. We once had a revenue; that has been destroyed in the destruction of our commerce... These remarks will have little weight with men whose interest leads them to advocate war. Thousands of lives, millions of money, the flames of cities, the tears of widows and orphans, with them are light expedients when they lead to wealth and power. But to the people who must fight, if fighting must be done - who must pay if money be wanted—who must march when the trumpet sounds, and who must die when the battle bleeds—to the people I appeal. To them the warning voice is lifted. From a war they are to expect nothing but expenses and suffering —expenses disproportionate to their means, and sufferings lasting as life."

Editor of the Boston Centinel quoted in The Weekly Register:
"It is evident that under the circumstances of this country, a declaration of war would be in effect a license and a bounty offered by our government to the British fleet to scour our coasts—to sweep our remaining navigation from the ocean, to annihilate our commerce, and to drive the country, by a rapid declension, into the state of poverty and distress which attended the close of the revolutionary struggle... Other considerations come in aid of our confidence—The proposed enemy is invulnerable to us, while we are on all sides open to assault. The conquest of Canada would be less useful to us than that of Nova Zembla, and could not be so easily achieved. Our red brethren, forgetful of the patriotic "talks" of their "father" JEFFERSON, would pour down upon our frontier, and our black brethren would show themselves not less enamoured with the examples of liberty taught in St. Domingo than their masters are with those derived from its mother country. New Orleans and the Floridas would pass into the hands of the enemy. Our sea-

ports would be under a strict blockade, and the mouths of our rivers would be bridged with frigates."

John Randolph, Congressman from Virginia:
"My design is simply to submit to you the views which have induced me to consider a war with England, under existing circumstances, as comporting neither with the interest nor the honor of the American people; but as an idolatrous sacrifice of both on the altar of French rapacity, perfidy, and ambition. France has for years past offered us terms of undefined commercial arrangements as the price of war with England, which hitherto we have not wanted firmness and virtue to reject. That price is now to be paid. We are tired of holding out; and, following the example of continental Europe, entangled in the artifices, or awed by the power of the Destroyer of Mankind, we are prepared to become instrumental to his projects of universal dominion. Before these pages meet your eye, the last Republic of the earth will have enlisted under the banners of the tyrant and become a party to his cause. The blood of the American freemen must flow to cement his power, to aid in stifling the last struggles of afflicted and persecuted man, to deliver up into his hands the patriots of Spain and Portugal, to establish his empire over the ocean and over the land that gave our fathers birth—to forge our own chains!"

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 4

1. Neither honor nor greed can justify bloodshed.

2. War with Great Britain aligns us with France and the tyranny of Napoleon.

3. Anything but defensive war goes against the spirit on which this nation was founded: the individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 4

1. Great Britain's navy commands the oceans of the world and will surely seize our merchant ships. Why provide Britain with another excuse to seize our wealth?

2. France has seized more of our ships in the past five years that Britain has. Why should we help the French by attacking Britain?

3. Indian attacks on the frontier do not justify declaring war against Great Britain. Those claiming British involvement in these attacks have been called upon to offer proof, but have consistently been unable to provide evidence to support their inflammatory claims.

4. The expense of war must be borne by our citizens. Taxes will be levied, an army must be raised, and the blood of our son's will flow. Those advocating war are those who stand to gain not those who will pay the horrible price of war. There will be little benefit to our citizens—only increased hardships.

Epilogue: The War and its Consequences

Debate in Congress was heated, and while motions to limit the war to maritime engagements and even to postpone conflict came close to passing, ultimately the United States declared unlimited war on Great Britain. In what was one of the many ironies associated with the war, British merchants prevailed on their government to repeal the Orders in Council—the much despised demand that U.S. ships stop in Britain for inspection. However, the news did not arrive in the United States until after Congress declared war.

How successful was U.S. military effort against Great Britain?

The war launched by the United States might be said to consist of two-and-a-half years of near-disasters and military mistakes. While the United States Navy's three new heavy frigates had some success and a fleet under Oliver Hazard Perry defeated the British fleet on Lake Erie, eventually the U.S. Navy was confined to port by 80 British ships operating out of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The U.S. military was underequipped, inexperienced, and often incompetent. U.S. forces suffered defeats in their attempts to invade Canada. In addition, the defeat of Napoleon in 1814 allowed Great Britain to concentrate military efforts on the United States. Sentiment in Britain called for the revocation of the Peace Treaty of 1783 and even to force the United States to return Louisiana to Spain.

Not surprisingly, U.S. trade suffered as well. The British blockaded the coast of the United States and burned shipping up and down the coast. The United States authorized 500 privateers to harass British shipping, which they did with great success, capturing over 1,300 British vessels. In 1814, British military forces invaded Washington, D.C. and burned parts of the nation's capital, forcing government officials to flee. While this act was not significant militarily, it did wound the nation's pride.

Gilbert Stuart

Dolly Madison, the wife of the President, rescued this portrait of George Washington from the White house to save it from the British troops and destruction.

The British moved on from Washington to attack Baltimore where the bombardment of Fort McHenry inspired Francis Scott Key to describe the battle and its outcome in "The Star Spangled Banner."

In another note of irony, the most significant American military success, the overwhelming defeat of British forces at New Orleans by Andrew Jackson, came after the peace treaty had been signed at Ghent, Belgium.

Given American rhetoric before the war, the Treaty of Ghent is noteworthy more for what it doesn't say. No mention is made of impressment or rights of neutral ships on the seas. Nor does any territory change hands.

The diplomatic struggle to preserve U.S. trading rights had been largely a failure. Indeed little had been accomplished along diplomatic lines since Jefferson's acquisition of the Louisiana Territory. The United

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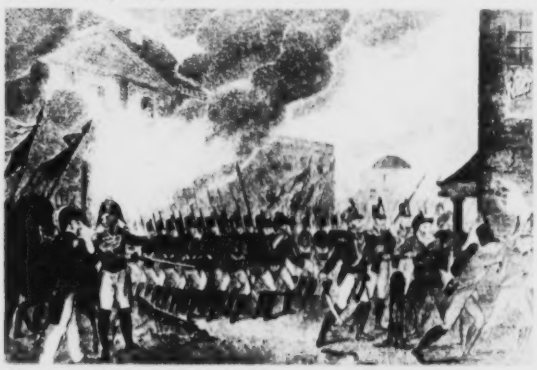

The burning of the city of Washington by British troops.

States had declared war with little military power and much naivete; it had risked its very existence and survived. Having fought a war without raising a large army, incurring a huge war debt, or upsetting the checks and balances of the Constitution, Americans emerged from the war in high spirits. With Jackson's victory at New Orleans fresh in their memory, a wave of nationalism followed as the United States embarked on a period that became known as the Era of Good Feeling.

What kind of a relationship developed between Great Britain and the United States?

The challenge to construct a workable foreign policy continued in the years following the War of 1812. When President James Monroe gave his annual message to Congress in 1823, he included an idea that had originated with the British. He outlined a plan, soon labelled the Monroe Doctrine, that dealt with some of the diplomatic issues that had plagued the United States since its founding. Some historians interpret the Monroe Doctrine's demand for no European interference in the Western hemisphere as a defense of American security and ideals. But others suggest that while the Doctrine meant "hands-off" the Western Hemisphere for the Europeans, it was also meant to give a green light for the Americans to expand in this hemisphere as they saw fit.

There is some truth to both of those explanations. The desire to expand would continue to manifest itself for the rest of the century. Steadily the United States acquired territory through conflict, purchases, and annexation. By the end of the century, the United States stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

A curious development in the aftermath of the war was the improvement in the relationship with Great Britain. Both nations found that they shared some political and economic interests. For example, Britain supported the Monroe Doctrine, because it attempted to limit Spanish influence in the hemisphere. In fact, the United States could not have enforced the Monroe Doctrine without the assistance of the British Navy. And while the Treaty of Ghent contained nothing on impressment and neutral trading rights, Britain began to respect these very things in its relations with America. Although some tensions continued in the relationship until the end of the 19th century, both nations have cooperated extensively since then, particularly in regard to maintaining the balance of power in Europe. To this day, the diplomatic cooperation between the United States and Great Britain is referred to as the "special relationship."

How did regional differences foreshadow secession?

Many New Englanders had felt that the War of 1812 was harmful to their interests. They also felt that their influence in the government was waning—each time a new state entered the Union, the voting strength of New England decreased proportionally. In protest of the war, the New England states blocked a military draft, refused to allow their militias to serve beyond state borders, and boycotted federal bond sales to finance the war. They proposed several constitutional amendments at the Hartford Convention in 1814 that would have reduced the South's voting power in Congress. When the delegates arrived in Washington to present their proposals, the capital was celebrating the peace treaty with Britain and Jackson's victory at New

Library of Congress

The Hartford Convention or LEAP No LEAP.

The cartoon "The Hartford Convention or Leap or No Leap," depicts four New England states ready to leap back into the arms of Great Britian.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Orleans. Their proposals fell by the wayside during the celebrations.

It was becoming clear that different regions of the country had fundamentally different foreign policy interests. For example, the Southern states bitterly resented the high tariffs put on cheaper British manufactured goods during the 1820s. These tariffs forced the South to buy more expensive goods from the North. The South felt that the North was getting rich at their expense. How could these kinds of differences be reconciled?

The factionalism (both party and regional), that manifested itself during the war prefigured divisions that would push the country to the brink of disintegration in the Civil War. The questions of states rights had been argued by Jefferson and Madison and would be echoed by John Calhoun in the 1830s. Two generations later the same issues would lead to the Civil War.

How did westward expansion affect native Americans?

Of course, the United States was not expanding into uninhabited lands. The relentless push westward displaced native Americans, sometimes by disease, sometimes by war, sometimes by treaties—both honored and not honored. The native Americans who had sided with Great Britain in the War of 1812 were punished for their resistance to white expansionism. In the 1820s, these tribes were ordered to the lands west of the Mississippi. This policy of removing Indians east of the Mississippi culminated with President Andrew Jackson's deportation of the Cherokee tribes in Georgia—an event known as the "Trail of Tears."

How did the War of 1812 affect concerns about national security?

In spite of the burning of the nation's new capital and the economic devastation caused by the blockade of the nations' ports, the War of 1812 did little to raise the alarm about the United States' lack of military power. In fact, the Democratic-Republicans, (who were suspicious of an overly powerful central government) were particularly pleased with the "success" of the war because they had not had to raise a large national army. Between the War of 1812 and the dawn of the 20th Century, military expenditures in peacetime years averaged less than one percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) per year. [Military expenditures as a percentage of GDP have averaged ten percent over the last four decades.] Insulated from the turmoil of the rest of the world by thousands of miles of oceans, at the start of the Civil War the United States Army numbered only about 16,000.

The years leading up to the War of 1812 showed both the problems and the dreams of the new nation. The desire to prosper, to grow, and to be taken seriously by the great powers of Europe manifested themselves clearly in the words and actions of our leaders. The course of action chosen by these leaders was not without risk. With the benefit of hindsight, it seems that the United States risked its independence by choosing to fight a war it naively assumed it could win. The arguments over U.S. foreign policy and the choices faced in 1812 showed regional and political faultlines in our new democracy. Fifty years later, the United States would divide along these faultlines during the Civil War—its future, once again, in jeopardy.

Chronology: Prelude to War - 1787-1815

1787

•Summer	Constitutional Convention takes place in Philadelphia.

1788

•Summer	Ninth state ratifies the Federal Constitution.

The Washington Administrations (1789-1797)

1789

•April 30	Washington is inaugurated as the first president.
•Summer	The French revolution begins.

1793

•February	France declares war on Great Britain.
•April 8	Citizen Genet arrives in Charleston, South Carolina.
•April 22	Washington's issues the Neutrality Proclamation.
•Summer	Madison (Helvidius) and Hamilton (Pacificus) dispute the constitutionality of the Neutrality Proclamation.

1794

•November	The Jay Treaty is signed.

1795

•June	The Jay Treaty is ratified by the Senate.

1796

•September	Washington gives his Farewell Address warning against entangling alliances.

The Adams Administration (1797-1801)

1798

•October-March	The XYZ Affair takes place, sparking anger in the United States.
•March	A state of undeclared war with France begins on the ocean.
•Spring	Congress passes the Alien and Sedition Acts.
•Summer	The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions are written by Jefferson and Madison.

1800

•February	Senate ratifies new treaty with France. The state of war with France ends.

The Jefferson Administrations (1801-1809)

1802

•March	France and Great Britain sign the Treaty of Amiens.

1803

•March	The United States purchases the Louisiana Territory.
•May	Napoleon declares war on Great Britain.

1806

•May	Great Britain issues new Orders in Council that control trade with Europe.
•November	Napoleon issues the Berlin Decree.
•December	Monroe-Pinkney Treaty signed. Jefferson refuses to submit it to the senate.

1807

•June	The *Chesapeake* fires on the *Leopard* killing four American sailors.
•December 17	Napoleon issues the Milan Decree.
•December 22	Congress passes the Embargo Act.

1809

•March	Jefferson signs the repeal of the Embargo Act.

The Madison Administrations (1809-1817)

1809

•April	The Erskine Agreement is made with Great Britain.

1810

•May	Congress passes Macon's Bill #2.

1811

•March	Congress reinstates non-importation against Great Britain.
•November	Henry Clay is elected as Speaker of the House.

1812

•April	Madison signs legislation creating a ninety day embargo.
•June 1	Madison gives his war message to Congress.
•June 4	The House of Representatives' War Resolutions passes by a vote of 79 to 49.
•June 16	Lord Castlereagh announces the suspension of the Orders in Council.
•June 17	Senate War Resolution passes by a vote of 19 to 13.
•June 18	Madison's Declaration of War.

1814

•December 15	The Hartford Convention begins.
•December 24	The Treaty of Ghent is signed.

1815

•January 5	The Hartford Convention ends.
•January 8	The Battle of New Orleans takes place.

Supplementary Documents

Treaty of Alliance with France, 1778

Article 1. If War should break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the present War between the United States and England, his Majesty and the said United States, shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good Offices, their Counsels, and their forces, according to the exigence of Conjunctures as becomes good & faithful Allies.

Article 2. The essential and direct End of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, Sovereignty, and independence absolute and unlimited of the said united States, as well in Matters of Government as of commerce....

Article 5. If the United States should think fit to attempt the Reduction of the British Power remaining in the Northern Parts of America, or the Islands of Bermudas, those Countries or Islands in case of Success, shall be confederated with or dependent upon the said United States.

Article 6. The Most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the Islands of Bermudas as well as of any part of the continent of North America which before the Treaty of Paris in 1763, or in virtue of that Treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great Britain, or to the United States heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this Time or have lately been under the Power of The King and Crown of Great Britain.

Article 7. If his Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the Islands situated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at present under the power of Great Britain, all the said Isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the Crown of France.

Article 8. Neither of the two Parties shall conclude either Truce or Peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtain'd; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the Independence of the united states shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the Treaty or Treaties that shall terminate the War....

Article 11. The two Parties guarantee mutually from the present time and forever, against all other powers, to wit, the united states to his most Christian Majesty the present Possessions of the Crown of France in America as well as those which it may acquire by the future Treaty of peace: and his most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, Sovereignty, and Independence absolute, and unlimited, as well in Matters of Government as commerce and also their Possessions, and the additions or conquests that their Confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the Dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the 5th & 6th articles above written, the whole as their Possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States at the moment of the cessation of their present War with England....

Napoleon Bonaparte on the Sale of Louisiana, 1803

I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They are engaged in exciting troubles in St. Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their conquests in all parts of the globe, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France, acquaints me with their wish to take possession of it, and it is thus that they will begin the war.

They have twenty ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico, they sail over those seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in St. Domingo have been growing worse every day since the death of [French General Victor Emmanuel] Leclerc [in Santo Domingo]. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I know not whether they are not already there. It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is still time, to take from them any idea that they may have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it....

Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe: have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston; but I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, for which its trade has never indemnified them. Large sums, which will never be returned to the treasury, have been lent to companies and to agriculturists. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I should regulate my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions [about $9,375,000] and for less than that sum I will not treat....

Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries: but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only last till one of the contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger, to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy....

This accession of territory . . . strengthens for ever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride.

Napoleonic Decree (Berlin), 1806

Art. I. The British islands are declared in a state of blockade.

Art. II. All commerce and correspondence with the British islands are prohibited. In consequence, letters or packets, addressed either to England, to an Englishman, or in the English language, shall not pass through the post-office and shall be seized....

Art. VI. No vessel coming directly from England, or from the English colonies, or having been there since the publication of the present decree, shall be received into any port.

Art. VIII. Every vessel contravening the above clause, by means of a false declaration, shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo confiscated, as if they were English property.

British Orders-in-Council, 1807

Whereas certain orders, establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were sometime since, issued by the government of France, by which "the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade," thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes,which should continue to trade with his majesty's dominions:

And whereas, by the same order, "all trading in English merchandise is prohibited, and every article of merchandise belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize;"...

His majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any country at war with his majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with his majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his majesty's enemies, shall, from henceforth, be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation ... as if the same were actually blockaded by his majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner. And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandise on board, and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured condemned as prize to the captors....

And whereas countries not engaged in the war have acquiesced in these orders of France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; and the merchants of those have given countenance and effect to those prohibitions by accepting from persons, styling themselves commercial agents of the enemy, resident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed certificates of origin certificates obtained at the ports of shipment, declaring that the articles of the cargo are not of the produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions or to that effect....

His majesty is therefore pleased ... to order ... that if an after reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving notice of this his majesty's order, at the port or place from which such vessel shall have cleared out, shall be found carrying any such certificate or document as aforesaid, or any document referring to or authenticating the same, such vessel shall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the persons by whom, or on whose behalf any such document was put on board.

THE EMBARGO ACT, 1807

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the States of America in Congress assembled, That an embargo be, and is hereby laid on all ships and vessels in the ports and places within the jurisdiction of the United States, cleared or not cleared, bound to any foreign port or place; and that no clearance be furnished to any ship or vessel bound to such foreign port or place, except vessels under the immediate direction of the President of the United States: and that the President be authorized to give such instructions to the officers of the revenue, and of the navy and revenue cutters of the United States, as shall appear as best adapted for carrying the same into full effect: Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the departure of any foreign ship or vessel, either in ballast, or with the goods, wares and merchandise on board of such foreign ship or vessel, when notified of this act.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That during the continuance of this act, no registered, or sea letter vessel, having on board goods, wares and merchandise, shall be allowed to depart from one port of the United States to any other within the same, unless the master, owner, consignee of such vessel shall first give bond, with one or more sureties to the collector of the district from which she is bound to depart, in a sum of double the value of the vessel and cargo, that the said goods, wares, or merchandise shall be relanded in some port of the United States, dangers of the seas excepted, which bond, and also a certificate from the collector same may be relanded, shall by the collector respectively be transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury. All armed vessels possessing commissions from any foreign power, are not to be considered as liable to the embargo laid by this act.

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, 1814-1815

The next amendments proposed by the convention relate to the powers of Congress in relation to embargo and the interdiction of commerce.

Whatever theories upon the subject of commerce have hitherto divided the opinions of statesmen, experience has at last shown that it is a vital interest in the United States, and that its success is essential to the encouragements of agriculture and manufactures, and to the wealth, finances, defence, and liberty of the nation. Its welfare can never interfere with the other great interests of the State, but must promote and uphold them. Still, those who are immediately concerned in the prosecution of commerce will of necessity be always a minority of the nation. They are, however, best qualified to manage and direct its course by the advantages of experience and the sense of interest. But they are entirely unable to protect themselves against the sudden and injudicious decisions of bare majorities, and the mistaken or oppressive projects of those who are not actively concerned in its pursuits. Of consequence, this interest is always exposed to be harassed, interrupted, and entirely destroyed upon pretence of securing other interests. Had the merchants of this nation been permitted by their own government to pursue an innocent and lawful commerce, how different would have been the state of the treasury and of public credit! How short-sighted and miserable is the policy which has annihilated this order of men, and doomed their ships to rot in the docks, their capital to waste unemployed, and their affections to be alienated from the government which was formed to protect them! What security for an ample and unfailing revenue can ever be had, comparable to that which once was realized in the good faith, punctuality, and sense of honor which attached the mercantile class to the interests of the government! Without commerce, where can be found the aliment for a navy, and without a navy what is to constitute the defence and ornament and glory of this nation! No union can be durably cemented in which every great interest does not find itself reasonably secured against the encroachment and combinations of other interests. When, therefore, the past system of embargoes and commercial restrictions shall have been reviewed, when the fluctuation and inconsistency of public measures, betraying a want of information as well as feeling in the majority, shall have been considered, the reasonableness of some restrictions upon the power of a bare majority to repeat these oppressions will appear to be obvious.

The next amendment proposes to restrict the power of making offensive war. In the consideration of this amendment it is not necessary to inquire into the justice of the present war. But one sentiment now exists in relation to its expediency, and regret for its declaration is nearly universal. No indemnity can ever be attained for this terrible calamity, and its only palliation must be found in obstacles to its future recurrence. Rarely can the state of this country call for or justify offensive war. The genius of our institutions is unfavorable to its successful prosecution, the felicity of our situation exempts us from its necessity. In this case, as in the former, those more immediately exposed to its fatal effects are a minority of the nation. The commercial towns, the shores of our seas and rivers, contain the population whose vital interests are most vulnerable by a foreign enemy. Agriculture, indeed, must feel at last, but this appeal to its sensibility comes too late. Again, the immense population which has swarmed into the West, remote from immediate danger, and which is constantly augmenting, will not be averse from the occasional disturbances of the Atlantic States. Thus interest may not unfrequently combine with passion and intrigue to plunge the nation into needless wars and compel it to become a military rather than a happy and flourishing people. These considerations, which it would be easy to augment, call loudly for the limitation proposed in the amendment....

Resolved, That the following amendments of the Constitution of the United States be recommended to the States represented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a convention chosen by the people of each State....

Third. Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days.

Fourth. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses, to interdict the

commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation, or the dependencies thereof.

Fifth. Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses, except such acts of hostility be in defence of the territories of the United States when actually invaded.

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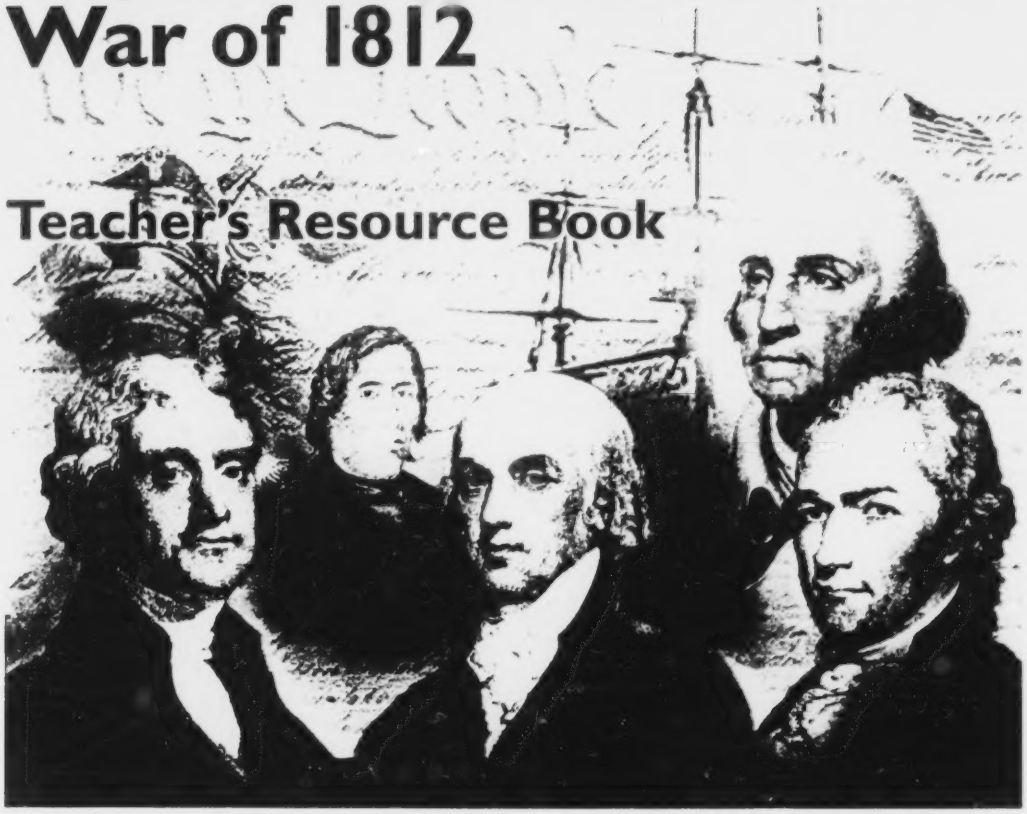

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

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Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812 is the eighth unit in a series that applies the Choices approach to critical junctures in history. The Choices Education Project also publishes an ongoing series on current foreign policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

Note to Teachers

The Federal Constitution of 1787 established national supremacy over foreign affairs, but left many separation-of-powers issues vague and undecided. The dominant concern at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention was establishing an effective federal system. Which branch of the national government would ultimately control foreign policy was not clearly defined in the Constitution or seen as a cause for major concern by its authors. This vagueness allowed the early administrations to play an essential role in establishing precedents that continue to influence contemporary American foreign policy.

This Choices unit explores America's foreign policy between 1787 and 1812. During this time the United States faced a series of foreign policy challenges that threatened its survival as an independent, constitutional republic. Between 1793 and 1815, a nearly continuous series of wars pitting the French against the British engulfed the European continent. Other nations joined the conflict when they could not avoid it or deemed it beneficial to do so. The resulting disruption that the United States faced to its ocean-going trade and on its frontiers became the dominant foreign policy issues during the early years of the American Republic.

The efforts to preserve and extend U.S trading rights reflected the difficult struggle for diplomatic effectiveness. These efforts resulted in the unpopular Jay's Treaty of 1794 with Great Britain, followed by an undeclared naval war with France between 1798 and 1800. There were a series of violent incidents on the high seas in the early 1800s; and a sustained attempt between 1807-1812 to use "peaceable coercion" in the form of economic embargoes against the European belligerents to force a respect for our neutral trading rights. Ultimately, in 1812 the United States declared war on Great Britain with its vast and powerful army and navy. Out of this "second War for Independence" came a more unified and confident country that was ready to expand across the continent.

To successfully prepare for the leadership roles of the 21st century, it is important that today's students realize that history is not simply one event after another, but, rather, one choice after another made on the basis of certain facts, assumptions, and values. What better material on which to hone these skills than the words, thoughts, and actions of Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison—the Founding Fathers of the world's longest lasting constitutional republic.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for tackling analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" found in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-26 before they begin their assignment. A "Prelude to the War of 1812 Issues Toolbox" is also included on page TRB-27. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance to understanding the early development of our nation's foreign policy.

The lesson plans offered in *Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812* are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately 50 minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812* might fit into your curriculum.

The History of the Early Republic: The events in this early period of the republic illustrate the difficulties of putting into operation a government that existed only in outline form and lacked the benefits of precedent. This unit shows that its success was hardly a foregone conclusion. The lack of respect accorded the new government by the major European powers as well as growing regional and partisan interests made shaping it more difficult.

Interpreting the Constitution: Many students assume that the Constitution is a document that leaves few questions unanswered. An examination of the events from this era illustrate how erroneous that thinking is. The history in this unit is filled with examples of questions raised concerning the checks and balances between the executive and the legislative branches. Other events raise the issues of national government versus states' rights and the delegated and reserved powers stated in the Constitution. Students might be encouraged to reflect on Benjamin Franklin's response to the woman who asked what kind of government was created in Philadelphia: "A republic, madam, if you can keep it."

Formulating a Foreign Policy: In many ways a democratic country faces greater challenges in formulating a foreign policy than do the non-democratic countries. In some cases, foreign policy decisions are made to influence the outcomes of elections. Elections present an opportunity for the opposition party to come to power with the potential of changing policy.

The Role of Political Parties: This period invites students to explore the development of political parties in America, showing both negative and positive effects. Opinions were often polarized along party lines, with partisan politics challenging the conventional wisdom that "politics is the art of compromise." Nevertheless, this period also provides the students with models of public servants rising above partisanship to act in the best interests of the nation.

Sectionalism: Struggles between sections of the country for power and influence dominate much of the political scene during the first 75 years of the new republic. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and the Hartford Convention illustrate not only the danger posed when one section of the country feels left out of national policy, but it also foreshadows the Amercian Civil War.

Global Affairs: In looking at the relationships between countries today, students might empathize with the plight of weaker nations as they attempt to steer an independent course among more powerful nations who sometimes show little regard for their sovereignty.

Setting Precedents in a Dangerous World—The Washington and Adams Administrations

Objectives:

Students will:

- Identify important foreign policy precedents set during the Washington and Adams Administration.
- Understand the role of foreign policy issues in the rise of political parties.
- Understand the message and values reflected in Washington's Farewell Address.
- Understand the state of war with France and its consequences.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should read "Prologue: A New Nation" in the student text (page 1), "Setting Precedents in a Dangerous World — The Washington and Adams Administrations" (pages 2-8) and have completed the "Study Guide — Part I" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 4-5) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-6).

Handouts:

- Key Documents in the Washington & Adams Administrations (TRB 7-9).

In the Classroom:

1) Getting Started—Distribute "Key Documents" to the class. Divide the class into groups of three or four. Assign each group the task of studying one of the documents and collectively answering the discussion questions. Emphasize that students should draw on Part I of the background reading to answer the discussion questions.

2) Identifying Key Passages—After the groups have answered the discussion questions, call on students to summarize the key points of each of the four documents. Is the wording in the Constitution helpful in making the decision to receive Minister Genet? What did Washington warn citizens about in the Neutrality Proclamation? Why would Washington offer this advice in his Farewell Address? Is the Sedition Act unconstitutional?

3) Drawing Connections—Focus discussion on how the documents relate to the central foreign policy issues faced by the United States during the Washington and Adams Administrations. How does the wording of the Constitution contribute to the rise of political parties and disputes over foreign policy? Was U.S. weakness the primary reason for the Neutrality Proclamation or was it simply a good policy? Did the Neutrality Proclamation relate in any way to growing political divisions in the United States? What factors contributed to the Sedition Act?

4) Analyzing Values: Call on students to identify the points of disagreement between the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans on foreign policy issues. What values (e.g., mercantilism, agrarianism, strong central government) are behind the points of disagreement. Ask them to compare the two sets of values.

Homework:

Students should read "Part II: The Failure of Peaceable Coercion" in the student text (pages 9-13) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (TRB 16-17) or the "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" (TRB-18).

Name:

Study Guide - Prologue and Part I
Setting Precedents in a Dangerous World—The Washington and Adams Administrations

1. What vision for the United States did Thomas Jefferson have?

2. What vision for the United States did Alexander Hamilton have?

3. How did ordinary Americans react to news about the French Revolution?

4. Why did the American Alliance with France of 1778 put the United States in an awkward position?

5. What did President Washington say in the Neutrality Proclamation?

6. James Madison argued against the Neutrality Proclamation on what grounds?

7. Define the term "impressment."

8. Explain the origins of the phrase, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

9. What did the Sedition Act prohibit?

10. Fill out the chart below, identifying in what administration the event took place and what precedent was established.

Event	Presidential Administration	Precedent Established
Neutrality Proclamation		
Minister Genet arrives		
Jay's Treaty		
State of war with France		

Name:

Advanced Study Guide — Prologue and Part I
Setting Precedents in a Dangerous World—The Washington and Adams Administrations

1. Compare Hamilton and Jefferson's visions for the United States.

2. Explain the changes in American attitudes toward the French Revolution and how they affected domestic politics.

3. What was the general American reaction to Jay's Treaty? What caused this reaction?

4. What important foreign policy precedents were established during Washington's and Adams' Administrations?

5. What were the causes and the consequences of the quasi-war with France?

Key Documents in the Washington and Adams Administrations

Document #1

Excerpts from the Constitution (Foreign Policy Powers in the Constitution)

Article I. Section 8. The Congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land a forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, governing such part of them as may be employed in the service United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same for erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other buildings;-and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof....

Section 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any impost duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not delay....

Article II. Section 2. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the

duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls. . . .

Article III. Section 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish....

Section 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;-to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;-to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;-to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;-to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State;-between citizens of different States;-between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction....

Article IV. Section 3. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State....

Article VI. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding....

Document #2

Excerpts from the Neutrality Proclamation

Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, on the one part, and France on the other; and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers:

I have therefore thought fit by these presents, to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively, and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever which may in any way tend to contravene such disposition.

And I hereby make known, that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to, punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting, hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them, those articles which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment.

Document #3

Excerpts from Washington's Farewell Address

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most

baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests. The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible.

Document #4

Excerpts from The Sedition Act

Section 1: Be it enacted . . . , That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States, which are or shall be directed by proper authority, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate or prevent any person holding a place or office in or under the government of the United States, from undertaking, performing or executing his trust or duty; and if said, shall counsel, advise or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination, whether such conspiracy, threatening, counsel, advice, or attempt shall have the proposed effect or not, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor....

Section 2: That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with the intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the president of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted of any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

Instructions

Answer the questions below with the other members of your group. Be prepared to share your views with the class. Refer to the background readings if necessary.

1. Which historical events set the stage for the document assigned to your group?

2. What were the most important values behind your group's document when it was written?

3. What were the reactions to the document in the United States?

4. Did your group's document affect relations between the United States and the powers of Europe? How?

Optional Lesson—Interpreting Political Cartoons

Objectives:

Students will:
- Identify political cartoons and place them in their historical context.
- Identify the values and viewpoint of the cartoonist.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should read "Part II: The Failure of Peaceable Coercion" in the student text (pages 9-13) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (TRB 16-17) or the "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" (TRB-18).

Handouts:

- Political Cartoons (TRB 11-14).

In the Classroom:

1) Getting Started—Distribute "Political Cartoons" to the class. Divide the class into groups of three or four. Assign each group the task of studying one of the cartoons and collectively answering the discussion questions. In addition, each group should attempt to answer the questions for the fifth cartoon. Emphasize that students should draw on Part I and Part II of the background reading to answer the discussion questions.

2) Identifying Key Ideas—After the groups have answered the discussion questions, call on students to summarize the key points of each of the four cartoons. What does Jefferson hold in his hand? How is Napoleon depicted in the cartoon? What are the elements of American liberty? Who are the traitors referred to in the fourth cartoon? What historical event is depicted by the fifth cartoon?

3) Drawing Connections—Focus discussion on how the cartoons relate to the political debates and issues faced by the United States in its early years. What political viewpoint does the cartoon that has Jefferson at the altar to Gallic despotism have? What is the significance of the line "The Cannibals are coming," in the fourth cartoon? How are foreigners portrayed in the cartoons? How do the cartoons reflect the internal domestic political struggles of the United States?

Homework:

Students should read "June 1812—Weighing American Options" and "Options in Brief" in the student text (pages 14-15).

Political Cartoons

Throughout American history, the strong feelings raised by politics and international issues have been expressed by political cartoonists. Not only do cartoons reflect the events of the period, they often offer an interpretation or express a strong opinion about these events. The first four cartoons that follow are from your readings.

Instructions

Answer the questions below with the other members of your group. Be prepared to share your views with the class. Refer to the background readings if necessary.

1. Who or what is depicted in the cartoon?

2. Which historical events set the stage for the cartoon?

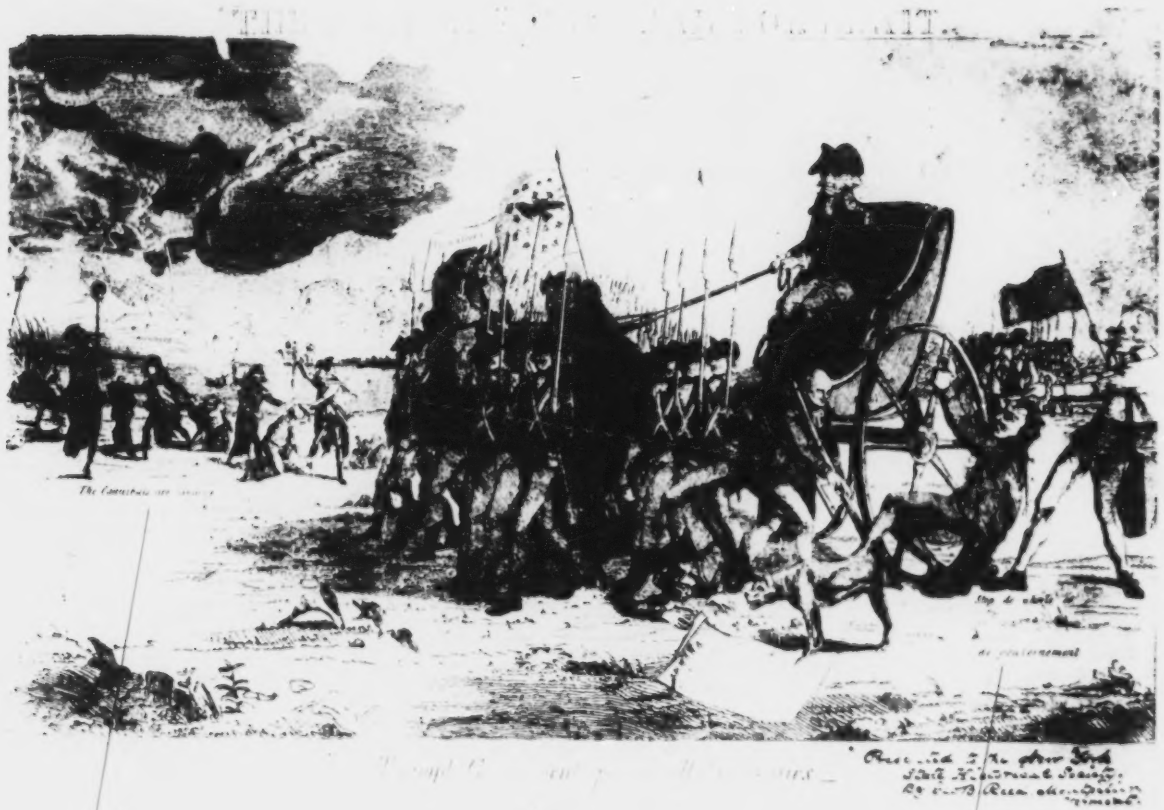
3. Does the political cartoon have a particular point of view? What is it?

CARTOON I.

CARTOON II.

CARTOON III.

CARTOON IV.



The Cannibals are landing

Triumph Government: perish all its enemies. Traitors be warned: justice though slow is sure.

Stop de wheels of de gouvernement

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CARTOON V.

This cartoon depicts an event that is described in the reading. After examining it carefully, answer the three questions.

1. Who or what is depicted in the cartoon?

2. Which historical events set the stage for the cartoon?

3. Does the political cartoon have a particular point of view? What is it?

We infringe-Dar be ver good! Indeed Madam Amerique you be ver pretty Woman and we should like to give you the hug Fraternale, Begas we do not want to quarrel with you, as a proof, my Brothers, the grand Directeurs are at this moment take all de care possible of your baggage—derefore if you wil go back and bring little more of de Argent you shall be admit to de honor of sitting, we only ask de favor and never seize on property.
America will not have her rights infringed on.
By gar some of these fedders vil look vel in de caps of us Legislateurs.
Oui Oui Madame Amerique dis Argument vil convince you dat all he say be true.
They'll certainly pluck her to the last feather
Shakespeare's Cliff
NATIONAL SACK
DIPLOMATIC PERQUISITES
Private Plunder for the Directors

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

June 1812: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues facing the United States in 1812.
- Identify the core underlying values of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent, presentation.
- Work cooperatively in groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 9-13) and completed "Study Guide — Part II" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 16-17) or the "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" (TRB-18).

In the Classroom:

Classroom activies based on the options in the student text (pages 15-27).

1. Reaching a Critical Juncture — Review "June 1812 — Weighing American Options" in the student text (page 14) with students. Emphasize that the spring of 1812 was a period of intense debate about how the United States should respond to European interference.

2. Planning for Group Work — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Two. During the class period of Day Two, students will be preparing for the Day Three simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

a. Option Groups — Form four groups of three to five students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option — June 1812" (TRB-19) to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Three to present the case for its assigned option to a group of citizens and members of Congress gathered in the dining room of a large Washington hotel. Explain that the option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option — June 1812."

b. Concerned Citizens — Distribute "Concerned Citizens — June 1812" (TRB-20) and "Dining at the Washington Hotel, June 1812" (TRB-21) to the remainder of the class and assign each student a role. (In smaller classes, students may be assigned to more than one role. In larger classes, two students may be assigned to each role.) While the option groups are preparing their presentations, the concerned citizens should develop questions to be directed to the option groups on Day Three. Each student should prepare at least two questions for each of the options. Remind the concerned citizens that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design posters illustrating the best case for their options. The concerned citizens may be asked to design a political cartoon expressing their concerns.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Name:

Study Guide - Part II
The Failure of Peaceable Coercion

1. Why did Napoleon decide to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States?

2. List two reasons why the Federalists were angered by Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase.

   a.

   b.

3. What did the Orders in Council require American ships to do?

4. Briefly describe the incident between the HMS *Leopard* and the USS *Chesapeake*.

5. What important issue was omitted from the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty?

6. What was the Embargo Act of 1807?

7. List two reasons why the Embargo Act failed.

a.

b.

8. List two goals of the "War Hawks."

a.

b.

9. Explain the significance of the battle at the Tippecanoe River.

10. List three arguments that the War Hawks used to make their case for war against Great Britain.

a.

b.

c.

Name:

Advanced Study Guide - Part II
The Failure of Peaceable Coercion

1. What was impressment and how did it contribute to rising tensions between the Great Britain and the United States during the Jefferson and Madison Administrations?

2. What was the most important achievement of Jefferson's first administration? Why was it controversial?

3. How did Jefferson attempt to avoid armed conflict with Great Britain and France?

4. What were the costs of Jefferson's attempts to avoid armed conflict with Great Britain and France?

5. Did changing conditions at home or abroad play a greater role in America's decision to declare war in 1812? Explain?

Presenting Your Option—June 1812

Instructions: Your group is made up of members of Congress with strong opinions about President Madison's request to consider war with Great Britain. You and members of opposing groups have decided to spend an evening dining at a fancy Washington hotel to listen to each other's viewpoints. You have also decided to invite a group of concerned citizens to the dinner and to solicit their views on this matter. Your group's assignment is to persuade the concerned citizens that the United States should adopt your option.

After reading your option and the supporting materials, answer the questions below from the viewpoint of your option. This worksheet will help you prepare a three-to-five minute presentation that your group will deliver on Day Three. Keep in mind that your group's presentation may include only information that was available in June of 1812. After all of the groups have presented their options, the concerned citizens will have an opportunity to challenge your arguments.

1. According to your option, what is the main cause of the present crisis and who is to blame?

2. According to your option, how should the United States respond to the present crisis?

3. According to your option, what are the issues that are most important to ensuring the future welfare of the United States?

4. According to your option, what will happen if your recommendations are not heeded?

5. In summary, what course of action does your option recommend that the United States pursue?

Concerned Citizens — June 1812

Your Role

You have been called upon to express the concerns of a citizen living in the United States in June 1812. You are having dinner at a fancy hotel in Washington at the invitation of some members of Congress. After dinner, the discussion turns to the President Madison's war message to Congress. You will hear four distinct positions (or options) from the members of Congress for you and your fellow citizens to consider. You are expected to evaluate each of the options from the perspective of the citizen you have been designated to represent.

Your Assignment

While the four option groups are organizing their presentations, you should read "Options in Brief" and prepare two questions regarding each of the options from the perspective of your assigned citizen. The questions should reflect the values, concerns, and interests of your role. Keep in mind that your questions should be based only on information that was available in the spring of 1812.

For example, an appropriate question about Option 1 from George Sheldon would be:

> *Under Option 1, how can you ensure that our coastal towns and cities won't be attacked and destroyed by the British?*

On Day Three, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and the other concerned citizens to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the options presented. At the end of the activity, you will be expected to turn in your questions and the "Evaluation Form."

Dining at the Washington Hotel
June 1812

George Sheldon — You are a 52-year-old merchant from Newport, Rhode Island. You own three merchant ships and a distillery which produces rum from molasses. Your family has lived in Rhode Island for three generations and your sons are often at sea with your ships. While the threat of seizure of your ships by the British or French has made life difficult, you have still managed to prosper due to skillful seamanship and good luck. In fact, Jefferson's Embargo Act worried you more than the threat of seizure or impressment by Great Britain. Your family, your warehouses, and your ships are all located on the coast of Rhode Island.

Sarah Miles — You are a 43-year-old woman from Maryland. You live with your husband on a large, prosperous farm that produces wheat. A great deal of your wheat is sold to merchants who transport it to Europe. Recently, your daughter, Elizabeth, moved to Indiana with her new husband, Francis, to take advantage of affordable land for a new farm. You believe that this offers them the best chance of prospering and making their way in the world as land has become scarce in Maryland. The news of the battle of Tippecanoe and Tecumseh's Indian confederation are very disturbing to you. You fear for your daughter's safety.

Nathan Allen — You are a 64-year-old veteran of the War of Independence who lives in New Hampshire. As a veteran of an army that was underequipped, ill-prepared, and poorly trained, you are well aware of the risk that this country would be taking in declaring war against a highly trained army. You have five children and eighteen grandchildren, all working on their own small farms. One of your sons is considering moving west, where he hears there is a great deal of fertile farmland.

Henry LaSalle— You are a 31-year-old prosperous merchant who owns his own small fleet in New Orleans. You have made a small fortune trading and smuggling in the Caribbean, successfully avoiding the British and the French navies. For you this issue is about freedom on the high seas. You envision becoming wealthy as a privateer in the event of war with Great Britain.

Mary Caldwell— You are a 39-year-old woman who works as a bar-maid at this hotel. You came to the United States as a servant for a wealthy family. Your 18-year-old son, having no education and few employment prospects, has told you he is going to join the army. You have overheard conversations before in the hotel between very important people who comment on how poor our military is. You are concerned about him going into the army and the possibility of war with Great Britain.

George Wilkens — You are a 40-year-old newspaper editor from Raleigh, North Carolina. Ever since the *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake*, you have been writing editorials protesting the outrageous arrogance of Great Britain and their support of Indian raids on the frontier with Canada. Your father fought proudly in General Washington's army against the British in the War of Independence. You resent the notion of Great Britain trying to dominate the United States again.

Juliette Dupre— You are a 24-year-old woman of French birth, but you consider yourself an American. Your father and mother were forced to flee France when you were a young girl because of their opposition to Napoleon. You are fortunate to have considerable wealth at your disposal. This has given you time to read and study extensively. In Washington, you meet often with friends to discuss your ideas about the devastation of war and to argue about the rights of man.

Ned Channing— You are an idealistic, 25-year-old lawyer from New Jersey, who would like to run for Congress some day. You believe that Great Britain has flouted the rights of our citizens by impressing our sailors and seizing our ships. While you are also concerned about Indian attacks on the frontier, you are not sure if the evidence supports the idea that the British are behind these attacks. Furthermore, you oppose the idea of increasing the size of the army.

Role Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the debate on U.S. policy in 1812.
- Identify the core underlying values of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-23) for Concerned Citizens.

In the Classroom:

1) Setting the Stage—Review the situation in the spring of 1812 with the students. Answer any questions the students may have about the situation. Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for a group of "concerned citizens."

2) Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the option groups. Encourage the spokesperson to speak clearly and convincingly.

3) Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite members from the group of "concerned citizens" to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each "concerned citizen" has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions after each option is presented.)

Homework:

Students should read "Epilogue: The War and its Consequences" in the student text (pages 28-30).

Evaluation Form
Concerned Citizens — Spring 1812

Instructions: Answer the questions below from the perspective of your character.

Part I

1. According to each option, what is the main cause of the present crisis?

   Option 1:

   Option 2:

   Option 3:

   Option 4:

2. According to each option, how should the United States respond to the current crisis?

   Option 1:

   Option 2:

   Option 3:

   Option 4:

3. How would you and your family be affected by the proposed course of action of each option?

   Option 1:

   Option 2:

   Option 3:

   Option 4:

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Epilogue: the War and Its Consequences

Objectives:

Students will:

- Understand the outcomes of the War of 1812.
- Explore the connections between the events leading up to and the outcomes of the War of 1812.
- Visually represent the causes and outcomes of the War of 1812.
- Work cooperatively in groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson students should read "Epilogue: The War and Its Consequences" in the student text (pages 28-30).

In the Classroom:

1) Getting Started—Ask students to brainstorm a list of the causes of the War of 1812. Record their list using a whiteboard or flip chart. Then ask for a list of outcomes. Explain that they are not restricted to the immediate post-war years, nor to U.S. history only. Let them pull from other courses they have taken. The Epilogue in the Student Text can serve as a useful starting point. This all-group activity is intended to prime the pump, not to complete the task which will be done in small groups.

2) Making Connections—Divide the class into groups of three or four. Hand out a poster board or large sheet of flip-chart paper to each group and ask them to write "War of 1812" in the center of it. Explain that using this as the centerpiece, they are going to be creating a historical web in which they will map the many causes and outcomes of the War of 1812 as well as the interconnections among them. They should be encouraged to move freely through what they know of history and current events making as many connections as they can to the War of 1812. Explain that this is not a linear activity. They can make connections to events that occurred before or after, in different parts of the world, or in different spheres (such as law, politics, economics, the arts). [See the sample beginning of a "web diagram" below].

3) Presenting Their Work —Ask each group to present its "web diagram" to the class. Students should be prepared to explain the relationship between the items that they have connected.

Extra Challenge: Topics for Further Investigation

1. Granting or denying diplomatic recognition is perceived as an important foreign policy tool. How has the U.S. government attempted to use diplomatic recognition to shape the world around it in the twentieth century? Has it been an effective tool?

2. Explore why politicians from the South and West, the two regions least directly affected by British maritime policies, were so supportive of war in 1812 while New England politicians were generally anti-war.

3. In his June 1812 speech to Congress, President Madison addressed incitement of the Indians as one of the grievances against Great Britain. How valid was this accusation?

4. Read Napoleon Bonaparte on Louisiana, 1803. What were his motivations for selling Louisiana to the United States. How accurate were his assumptions?

5. Using the events leading up to the War of 1812 as evidence, explore the effectiveness of economic coercion.

6. Read the Sedition Act. Write a short essay in which you investigate other examples of when constitutional rights have been abridged during wartime. Are there any circumstances in which this is justifiable?

7. Using examples of dissent during the War of 1812 as a starting point, examine the question of whether there are boundaries of legitimate dissent during wartime.

8. Although wars are fought to change international conditions, they often change more at home than abroad. Assess the validity of this assertion in the context of the War of 1812.

9. Did the United States win or lose the War of 1812? What standard(s) can be used to measure the U.S. success or failure?

Key Terms

Prologue and Part I

constitutional republic
foreign policy
neutral trade
monarchy
capital
commerce
precedents
excise tax
agrarian
despotic
treaty
cabinet members
alliance
neutrality
trade
arbitration
ratification
quasi-war
merchant ships
sedition

Part II

inaugural address
national debt
strict interpretation
loose interpretation
impressment
embargo
economies
smuggling
belligerents
non-importation
separation of powers

Epilogue

letters of marque
privateers
tariffs
factionalism
sectionalism
regionalism
annexation
gross domestic product
political and economic interests

Prelude to the War of 1812
Issues Toolbox

States' Rights: Proponents of states' rights drew on the political philosopher John Locke's ideas about the right of the people to revolt. Prior to the War of 1812 both Jefferson and Madison argued that states should be able to reject laws made by the national government if the state believed the law to be unconstitutional. At the Hartford Convention the New England states broached the question: Does a state have a right to secede from the union? While these two particular issues are no longer debated in the United States, there are ongoing discussions about the division of responsibility and authority between federal and state governments.

"Avoid Entangling Alliances": This phrase is often used to describe George Washington's advice to the country in his Farewell Address. In this address, Washington warned against the dangers of factionalism and of favoring one nation over another. He also argued for good commercial relations with other countries while keeping political connections to a minimum. Some suggest that with this address, the "father of our country" also became the father of our foreign policy by establishing the principles that would characterize American foreign policy until the Second World War—neutrality and isolationism.

Other historians argue that much of what Washington said bears the mark of the influence of Hamilton who was anxious merely to avoid an entangling alliance with France and not with Great Britain. Hostility towards France increased steadily under the Federalist administrations of Washington and Adams and resulted in an undeclared state of war with France from 1797-1800. Under the Democratic-Republican administrations of Jefferson and Madison, this trend was reversed. Both saw commercial and philosophical reasons to align the United States with nations other than Great Britain. Tensions with Britain increased and culminated in the War of 1812.

Neutrality: Washington's neutrality proclamation had its origins in a long-standing American concern to preserve neutral trade. The commercial interests of the American colonies had been protected by Great Britain's treaties, particularly the "Treaty of Navigation and Commerce," between England and France dating from 1713. The principle that a neutral can carry goods to a customer without fear of attack from that customer's enemy was important to American shippers before and after independence. The War of 1812 was provoked, in part, by violations of American neutrality.

Freedom of the Seas: An important component of the issue of neutrality relates to the question of the freedom of the seas—the right to traverse them freely. During the 1500s, Britain, France, and Holland challenged Spain and Portugal's claim of monopoly on the seas and asserted their right to travel unmolested. Some say that international law has its origins in the writings of Hugo Grotius who argued in 1609 in his work, *Mare Liberum*, for the freedom of the seas.

Freedom of Trade: The freedom to trade with any nation was a concern of the United States in its early years and remains so to this day. It is directly related to the issues of neutrality and the freedom of seas. It has its origins in the desire to maximize prosperity through unrestricted commerce.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

_____

Group Assessment	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day One of the Suggested Four-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part I" or "Advanced Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.) Students should read Part II of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part II" or "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" as homework.

Day 2: Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options reflect different assumptions about the nature of our country's goals and values? Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine that they have been called upon to advise the President on whether to declare war on Great Britain. What concerns and values would be at the top of their agenda? *Homework:* Students should read "Epilogue: The War and its Consequences."

Day 3: See Day Four of the Suggested Four-Day Lesson Plan.

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